

The American Historical Review

ECHOES FROM CHICAGO

THE fifty-sixth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held in Chicago at the Stevens Hotel on December 29, 30, and 31. The registration numbered 865, a considerable drop from the record of 1,116 of 1940 and 152 beneath the figure of the last Chicago meeting in 1938. For this decline the national emergency was, no doubt, largely responsible. Certainly the preoccupation of the convening members with the war was apparent wherever they gathered.

There were 54 scheduled sessions, luncheon conferences, and dinners, including the customary business meeting and the joint sessions and separate gatherings of the thirteen affiliated societies which met concurrently. One hundred one formal papers were read, and, excluding chairmen, there were 172 listed participants. At the annual dinner of the Association tribute was paid to its late President, James Westfall Thompson, and his paper, "The Age of Mabillon and Montfaucon", was read by Lynn White.

The program, as arranged by Curtis P. Nettels and nearly thirty coadjutors, was not built around a single theme or plan, but certain broad features may be noted. Many of the sessions dealt with the position of the United States in world affairs and the impact of the world crisis upon the study of history. Especially noteworthy was the attention devoted to Pan-American questions, with Canada and Hispanic America providing a sizable group of active participants. The diversified range of historical inquiry in this country was amply demonstrated, and few specialists can have left the meeting without some stimulation in their chosen fields. The exigencies of war accounted for a few alterations in the program; some experts could not leave their country's camps or ships or desks.

This article is based principally on abstracts of the papers read and on accounts of co-operative reporters who attended the sessions. Attention will first be directed to the papers which dealt with America's role

in war and at peace; after which those concerned with certain world-wide modern developments and concepts, the history of science and of ideas, questions predominantly regional, Pan-American problems, and the study, teaching, writing, and popularization of history, will be reviewed.

The session devoted to the entry of the United States into war in 1917 was one of the timeliest. In a provocative paper, "The Issue of Neutral Rights in Retrospect", Thomas A. Bailey contended that in 1917 President Wilson regarded neutrality as a moral issue and that the United States entered the war not because of the submarine, but because of what Wilson said he would do if Germany used the submarine in an unrestricted manner. Had the President regarded the question as a political rather than a moral issue, he might have succeeded in keeping us out of war, and in that case a stalemate peace might conceivably have resulted. With this thesis John D. Hicks took sharp issue, maintaining that Mr. Bailey's approach was too narrow and legalistic. Mr. Hicks suggested that we fought less for our neutral rights than to prevent the control of the Atlantic from falling into the hands of an unfriendly sea power. Had we not entered the war, Germany would have won, and the resultant peace would have been far from generous. Subsequent comment from the floor tended to support the views of Mr. Hicks. Walter Millis, in his "Remarks on the Entry of the United States into the First World War", was principally concerned with various interpretations as to how we became involved in that conflict: from these interpretations the neutrality policy of 1935-37 was framed. Admitting that the policy was confused, Mr. Millis felt that it was not without beneficial results: it averted most of the "incidents", with their emotional repercussions in popular opinion; it prevented the creation of a great private economic interest in the war; it enabled us to prepare and thus to enter the battleground better fitted for the struggle than in 1917.

At a joint session with the Economic History Association Chester W. Wright's "American Economic Preparations for War, 1914-1917 and 1939-1941" was substituted for Horst Mendershausen's paper. Mr. Wright compared the preparations of these two periods for the purpose of estimating what the United States had learned from history concerning the economic problem of preparedness. Considering surveys, centralized organization, augmentation of the armed forces, production of equipment, and labor policy, he concluded that something had been learned from the past in obtaining matériel and services necessary for

combat; and that some improvement had been made in meeting the essential needs of the civilian population by accumulating stocks of imported raw materials and in other ways. With respect to war finance, after reviewing the tax program, efforts to divert savings to the government, and methods used to control prices, Mr. Wright maintained that here, as in labor policy, there had been some failures to apply the lessons of 1914-18 and previous wars. At the same session Buford Brandis's paper, "Wartime Controls in England", presented a summary estimate of the efficacy of British production and price controls. He concluded that whereas the control devices have so far prevented a runaway inflation, they leave much to be desired with respect to the rate of mobilization of industry for war.

At the luncheon of the Agricultural History Society two papers developed the theme of Food and World War I. Maxcy Dickson described the Educational Division of the Food Administration and appraised the value of its work. He particularly emphasized the effect of the Food Administration's program on the American diet and its role in determining the outcome of World War I. In the second paper Almon R. Wright stressed the dependence of the Allies in 1917-18 upon food supplies from overseas, which were purchased and controlled chiefly by the British. He discussed the methods of the British and noted that they incurred a greater indebtedness in buying food than in purchasing munitions.

Sea Power in the Twentieth Century was the theme of the joint session with the American Military Institute. In "The Jeune École after Fashoda: French Theories of Naval War with England" Theodore Ropp showed how French unpreparedness in the Fashoda crisis forced a compromise between the partisans of the battleship and the cruiser and torpedo boat schools, and how, confronted with the same difficult problem of meeting the superior sea power of Britain, modern German naval thought has gone through the same evolution. Arthur J. Marder, in "Admiral Sir John Fisher: A Reappraisal", described the condition of the Royal Navy at the turn of the century and the awakening that came with the emergence of the kaiser's fleet, and he discussed the subsequent reforms of Fisher, "the greatest of British naval administrators since St. Vincent", and his colleagues. In "American Naval Policy since Mahan" Allan Westcott, defining naval policy as the attitude and action of the government regarding the strength required for defense at sea, stressed the need, in shaping naval policy and military policy in general, for an expert planning body or staff, unhampered by tradition or pro-

fessional bias, extending its scope to include the full utilization of national resources, man power, science, and production facilities. Supporting the decisions of such a body there is need for extended historical, economic, and strategic study of war, and—in a democracy—for wide dissemination of the knowledge thus acquired.

At the luncheon conference on Far Eastern History and Affairs a delineation of American Far Eastern policy was provided by Stanley Hornbeck in "The United States and the Far East: Certain Fundamentals of Policy". Mr. Hornbeck began by pointing out that the operations which support American policy may differ in different areas but that the policy itself remains a single, unified, and continuous body of doctrine aimed at the carrying out of certain fundamental principles—especially the principles of respect for national independence, of equality of opportunity in terms of fair treatment, and of orderly procedure in international relations. In no part of the world has the continuity of American foreign policy been more apparent than in the Far East. For example, the Open Door notes of John Hay expressed the principle of equality of opportunity which had been advanced by American representatives in Asia as early as 1842; and the idea of noninterference in the internal affairs of other sovereign states, implicit in the Monroe Doctrine, played its part in the growth of the concept of the territorial integrity of China, which in turn lay behind the nonrecognition doctrine. At another session an interesting approach to American relations with the Far East was provided by John K. Fairbank's "Chinese Ideas of the Western Barbarians, about 1850". Developing the theme of the intellectual inadaptability of the Chinese scholar-official class as a factor in the decline of the Chinese Empire, Mr. Fairbank noted that in the middle of the nineteenth century these officials made serious attempts to understand and interpret the West. Discussing this paper, Earl Swisher gave some examples of Sino-American attempts to reach a mutual understanding during the nineteenth century; while Woodbridge Bingham blamed the decline of the Manchus after 1795 for China's unsympathetic attitude toward the West in the following century.

One of the most timely of all the sessions was that devoted to the Third Reich, a general session held on the evening of December 29. In the absence of Major George Fielding Eliot, who was to have spoken on "Modern German Military Policy, Tactics, and Strategy", Carroll Binder read a paper on "America and the Global War". He blamed a misguided and lethargic public for delaying the building of naval and military forces adequate for the United States to meet Japan and Ger-

many at the same time and for preventing an agreement with the Soviet Union for joint action against Japanese aggression. He charged isolationists, "debunking" historians, and cynics with preparing the American youth in the worst possible way for coping with the present crisis. Emphasizing the global nature of the war, he warned that Germany has been and is the chief enemy. The Allies must accept no peace with her that will permit her to resume in the future the effort to impose her will on the world. Speaking at the same session on "Modern German Propaganda Methods", Clifton Utley advanced four reasons for the conspicuous success of Nazi methods. They are: the recognition by the Nazis that propaganda forms a co-ordinate and organic part of total war; their long-range planning toward one definite objective, world conquest; a dynamic flexibility in the use of propaganda, permitting the Nazis to manipulate this instrument of warfare with complete disregard of moral scruples; and the mobilization of all the resources of the state in the manufacture and dissemination of propaganda.

Most of the papers discussed above echoed clearly the sentiment that we must not only win the war: we must win the peace. One session was devoted to Peacemaking in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries; two papers were read, Hajo Holborn's "The Historical Background of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919" and Paul Birdsall's "America's Stake in a World Settlement, Past and Present". Mr. Holborn pointed out that the balance of power, undermined late in the nineteenth century by the impact of large-scale industrialization, was apparently restored on the battlefields in 1914; but Germany managed to break the deadlock and in 1917 was on the verge of securing world-wide predominance. At this juncture the United States intervened, promising to substitute the rule of law for the old diplomacy; but the various nations proved unwilling to assume international responsibilities or to accept international control. Moreover, the Peace Conference failed to create a universal "community of power" and refused to face the fact that total war is accompanied by profound social changes. The conviction of the statesmen of 1919 that a diplomatic peace would terminate a struggle which had assumed the proportions of a world revolution is partly to blame for the shortcomings and eventual collapse of the postwar settlement. Mr. Birdsall emphasized the essential similarity in the circumstances which twice within a quarter century brought the United States into a world-wide conflict. The failure to understand why we entered the First World War gave rise to the fallacy which underlay the neutrality acts of the 1930's. The moral of 1917, as of 1941, was that the

United States could not remain outside a major conflict. The sole alternative is to create and maintain an international machinery for the preservation of peace, and it is imperative for the United States to participate in such an undertaking.

American performance in the art of peacemaking was highly rated at the session on the Near East. Describing the King-Crane Commission, Harry N. Howard declared that in this American attempt to find an equitable peace for the Near East the United States had made a useful and necessary contribution to the technique of peacemaking. Albert H. Lybyer added that, since the instructions to the commission were for a genuine settlement and not a compromise scheme, its work was a challenge to the whole tradition of European diplomacy. At the joint session with the American Society of Church History the papal peace efforts since 1914 were described by C. C. Eckhardt, who declared that, although the papacy has no fundamental interest in any specific political ideology, it is insistent that war, whether waged by democracies or totalitarian states, undermines and corrodes moral and spiritual life.

The discussions which followed these papers stressed the need for a less nationalistic and more international approach to the problem of world settlement and for an intelligent grasp of the economic questions involved as well as the political and territorial issues. An obvious need exists for a well-informed and sympathetic public and for historical interpretation of a high order. In the words of Bernadotte Schmitt, if for years Americans had an erroneous conception of the settlement of 1919, the fault lies with the historians, who failed during the 1920's and 1930's to provide their compatriots with an objective and scientific account of the Paris Conference. Nor should we repeat the mistakes of the men of 1919, who, as Charles K. Webster declared, contented themselves with a blueprint: only by the sustained effort of international co-operation can peace be on earth, and in this effort the United States must take a leading and unflagging part.

There are a few subjects of such general and perennial interest that a program would scarcely be complete without them. One of these is imperialism. Many aspects of this subject were discussed at Chicago. At a session devoted to Europe's Early Outlook upon America, Samuel Eliot Morison and Wesley Frank Craven shed light on early Spanish and English colonial policy. Mr. Morison pursued further his consideration of the role of Columbus. He emphasized the adaptability of this navigator, who, faced with unprecedented situations in the West Indies,

initiated the main features of later Spanish American land and native policies. Attention was drawn to the primacy of trade-in-gold in the original planning. In "The English Approach to the Problems of American Settlement" Mr. Craven examined principally the Elizabethan projects for colonization and concluded that the English plans were based on careful study of the colonizing experiences of other states and envisioned from the outset balanced settlements rather than exploitive gold-and-trading-post operations. The discussion by Robert L. Reynolds sought to emphasize the parallels between the colonizing ventures of Italians, especially Genoese, from 1000 to 1500, and those of the Atlantic nations after Columbus and stressed the historical continuity of problems and operations.

Two papers dwelt on the part which English clergymen have played in British imperial development. In "The Jacobean Clergy and British Imperialism" Louis B. Wright noted that Anglicans and Puritans were equally insistent that Englishmen must claim their share of the New World; he found a particularly striking example of the activity of the clergy in behalf of colonial expansion in the use made of them by the Virginia Company of London to promote that enterprise. These preachers were not the craven tools of financial or governmental interests; almost invariably they were anti-Catholic zealots whose religious fervor was mingled with a patriotic desire to see an improvement in England's economic and political position. Their treatises exerted an incalculable effect in popularizing the notion of imperial destiny. In the discussion Goldwin Smith suggested that it was hard to reconcile the attitude of these clergymen with such prevailing doctrines as the approaching dissolution of the world, so easily found in the pages of Browne and Donne. In "The Church of England and Some Aspects of Imperialism" Donald O. Wagner chose to evaluate the Anglican connection with the full-blown imperialism of Victorian days. He revealed that the church, especially in its missionary branch, sometimes opposed and sometimes encouraged the spread of British political and commercial influence among "backward" races. As late as 1880 Bishop Colenso of Natal defended the South African tribes against what he deemed the unwarranted aggressions of the British government; on the other hand, a description of missionary enterprise in Uganda in the 1890's affords an arresting example of the contributions of Anglicanism to British imperialism.

The existence of nationalism within an imperial framework was appraised in the papers of Reginald G. Trotter, W. Ross Livingston, and

Reginald I. Lovell, who discussed the nationalization of Canada, Australia, and the Union of South Africa. Of all the nations in this hemisphere, Mr. Trotter declared, Canada is the least exclusively American. He attributed this to prolonged economic dependence on the mother country, competition with the United States, and the imperial connection in all its phases; and he maintained that a community of economic interest among the several regions of modern Canada has strengthened Canadian nationalism, as has the desire—common to the French-speaking as well as the English-speaking elements—to preserve a cultural identity distinct from that of her southern neighbor. Mr. Livingston vigorously stressed the uniqueness of Australia as a British dominion. Noting that Australia achieved nationhood with extreme rapidity, he pointed out that her nationalism was conditioned in part by the remoteness and the vastness of her largely unpeopled continent, located not far from the most densely populated regions of Asia; by Australia's overwhelmingly British population; and by the democracy of a New World frontier society. Both speakers minimized divisive influences within these dominions and noted the satisfaction with the imperial connection. Mr. Lovell, however, felt that Afrikaner bitterness toward the English will keep South Africa for some time from attaining full nationality. He stressed the differences between the British and the Boers, the native problem, and the issues raised by the presence of Asiatic helots. Fascist tendencies have crept into the life of the country, though the pro-fascist forces are divided. In the discussion Kenneth Björk suggested that the British Commonwealth of Nations may be the key to the solution of the major problem of reconciling nationalism with active international co-operation. Robert M. Saunders disagreed with some of Mr. Trotter's conclusions, insisting that the French Canadian element constituted a real obstacle to national unity and that the ties with the United States are stronger and the competitive forces less than he had suggested. He characterized Canadian nationalism as largely negative—not American and not British—and added that Canada's future lies not in absolute national sovereignty but in leadership in a co-operative world.

Trends in Modern Imperialism were investigated at a session at which Hans Kohn and Robert Gale Woolbert presented papers. In "Changing Concepts of Empire" Mr. Kohn pointed out that in the course of centuries the main motivating force behind imperialism has been the idea of ordering human society through unified dominion and common civilization. Not until the discovery of vast lands outside

Europe did the traditional concept of universal empire give way to a new concept of "parochial" empires, knowing themselves definitely as only parts of the whole: therewith appeared the new phenomenon of conflicting imperialisms. England was the prototype of this new imperialism; in Germany and in Russia, however, the idea of world empire continued. Today National Socialism represents a return to the earlier concept of empire, now realizable in the modern world for the first time as a result of technical progress. Like this concept, National Socialism denies the world of nations, not, however, in the sense of a fusion of all nations under a common law but in reserving the right to nationalism to the master race alone, while other nations are assigned to graded spheres of peculiar laws and circumscribed national self-expression. Mr. Woolbert, in "Colonialism: New Style", agreed with Mr. Kohn that National Socialist imperialism broke with the Christian and humanitarian bases of empire. Assuming that the anti-Axis forces would win the war, Mr. Woolbert stressed their moral obligation to open the world's raw material resources for the benefit of all and to endow colonial peoples with a political and economic environment in which they might learn the processes of self-government. He suggested that colonial areas be put under an international administration; if technical difficulties make this inadvisable, a world supervisory organization, with positive powers to insure that certain minimum standards of government, economic development, and social welfare are carried out, ought to be established. In his discussion Troyer S. Anderson drew a parallel between the acquisition of colonies out of fear of being deprived of access to colonial resources—before 1914—and the National Socialist insistence on Germany's right to *Lebensraum* today.

Of interest alike to students of imperial policy, economic theory, and colonial America was the session on the American Revolution. A large audience heard Lawrence A. Harper's "English Mercantilism and the American Revolution" and Winfred T. Root's "The American Revolution Reconsidered". According to Mr. Harper, "the American Revolution was not caused by inexorable economic pressures resulting from British mercantilism; the responsibility rests primarily upon defective methods of enforcing British policies". Those policies—with respect to land, currency, and bounties—were reasonable and even liberal; but at a time when the colonists were suffering from postwar deflation and were no longer dependent on the British for protection against the French, the British government attempted to bring about political and economic reforms too hastily. Mr. Root found the role of Great Britain

less benevolent. The British government, he said, measured the colonies by the yardstick of mercantilism, seeking ever to fit them, as dependent members, into its concept of a self-sufficient empire. But the American environment, the character of the colonial immigrants, and the administrative negligence of the crown contributed to the development of economic interests and habits of self-government that were frequently contrary to the dependent role the colonies were supposed to play in the mercantilist scheme of things. Mr. Root's emphasis upon economic causation was not favored by Oliver M. Dickerson or Lawrence Henry Gipson, who discussed the papers. Vigorously asserting that the Americans did not oppose the commercial system under which they lived but actually desired its preservation because of numerous benefits, Mr. Dickerson pointed out that the revenue measures enacted after 1763 were more injurious to British than to American interests. Although limited time precluded extemporaneous discussion, it is quite apparent that historians of our colonial era have not yet reached an agreement on the relative importance of economic policy in causing the Revolution.

The joint session with the Business Historical Society featured another subject of general interest, Capitalism. In his paper, "Capitalism: Concepts and History", N. S. B. Gras distinguished five different concepts: the technological, ethical, individual ownership, system of capital predominance, and capitalist-administrator. The last-named one was declared to be the most fundamental and the most useful for present-day argumentation; in essence, it places emphasis upon administration, so persistently neglected by classical economists. Mr. Gras traced the successive types of capitalism, from the earliest petty capitalism through the longest-lived mercantile capitalism and the best-known industrial capitalism to the shortest-lived financial capitalism, which is now, in turn, being challenged by national capitalism—in America, the New Deal. He concluded by pointing out that his approach is not an economic interpretation of history but one which stresses business administration as the primary factor in economic growth. In the discussion which followed, Raymond de Roover said that Mr. Gras's concepts were of great aid in correctly interpreting medieval economic history. He cautioned against overlooking the importance of the putting-out system. Henrietta Larson noted that the emphasis upon administration introduced the individual into economic and business history and made possible a more realistic description of the operation of the capitalistic system. D. G. Creighton, while admitting that, in economic development, administration was an important factor, was afraid that its importance might be

overemphasized to the detriment of other factors—economic, cultural, social, and political. The session was followed by a luncheon conference at which the discussion was continued and centered mostly around the social services provided by business enterprise.

The Industrial Revolution, another inexhaustible theme, was treated in John U. Nef's "War in Relation to the Early Industrial Revolution" and Arthur L. Dunham's "Aspects of the Industrial Revolution in France". Mr. Nef compared western Continental Europe, where there was almost continuous war, and England, where peace reigned virtually unchallenged, between 1540 and 1640. Noting that the destructive side of war has been stressed at the expense of its constructive aspects, he revealed that in western Europe demands for weapons and ships led to the concentration of enterprises in large workshops and increased the demand for the products of mining and metallurgy, enterprises often requiring considerable capital. Other industries, however, such as salt-making, were seriously restricted in time of war; and, in general, state rather than private capitalism benefited. In peaceful England the domestic market could be cultivated on a large scale, and we find, for example, that the output of iron increased rapidly in England while nearly at a standstill on the Continent. In conclusion Mr. Nef emphasized that while war and peace undoubtedly affected the progress of heavy industry, a great variety of other factors must be taken into consideration to explain the rapid industrial advance of England as compared with the Continental states. In the case of France some explanatory factors were submitted by Mr. Dunham. He dwelt on geographical conditions, such as harbors and inland waterways, and noted that the relatively large supply of wood and of water power decreased the pressure for the rapid adoption of coal and steam. The large and increasing number of small holdings of land gave vitality to the putting-out system, while the need of defending political frontiers went far to explain the power of the bureaucracy and the rarity of individual initiative and voluntary co-operation. In the discussion Thomas C. Mendenhall suggested that we learn more about war itself, while Frederick L. Nussbaum and N. S. B. Gras agreed that the marketing side of industry needs study in connection with the problem of the influence of war.

The session on the Relation of American History and European History took the concept of "Western" civilization as its theme. Eric Goldman read a paper in which he noted that Western civilization has since 1700 been distinguished by accelerated change and world-wide expansion. Technological, political, and intellectual innovations, spreading

from a European center, have directly or indirectly made themselves felt throughout the world, until today major adjustments to them on every continent appear to be making the whole world an area of common destiny. The history of Western civilization is centered on the spread and impact of these innovations within Europe and overseas. Such a view inevitably emphasizes economic connections. Dexter Perkins, Carl Wittke, Preston Slosson, and Howard Mumford Jones participated in the formal discussion, which drew attention to the influence of the New World on the Old, the importance of the migration of peoples, and the difficulty of fitting noneconomic innovations into the pattern presented.

The growing interest in intellectual history was recognized by the scheduling of several papers dealing with the history of science and of ideas. The general purpose of the session on the Age of the Renaissance was, according to Dana B. Durand, to balance the elements of tradition and innovation in *quattrocento* intellectual and political history, with a view to testing the validity of the opinion, commonly held since Burckhardt, that the period marks a radical break with the Middle Ages and institutes the era of modern Europe. In “‘Il Primato dell’ Italia’ in the Field of Science” Mr. Durand examined the “primacy” claimed for Italy in the fields of scientific methodology, cosmology, mathematics, and physics and concluded that extreme claims of Italian originality, made under the influence of nationalist enthusiasm, must be qualified. At the same time the deprecatory interpretations of *quattrocento* science penned by Pierre Duhem and Lynn Thorndike also warrant a critical scrutiny. Discussing this paper, Hans Baron reminded his audience that, despite its paucity in science, the fifteenth century produced a humanism and an educational system that promoted the study of the natural sciences in the next century; while Elio Gianturco contended that practical or applied science, such as commercial and engineering mathematics, was considerably more original than is usually believed. In “The Origins of Modern Balance of Power Politics” Ernest W. Nelson asserted that, in modern history, the balance of power system is first seen in complete operation in fifteenth century Italy. For half a century before the League of Venice in 1495 the relations of Venice, Milan, Florence, Naples, and the States of the Church may be viewed as a microcosmic display of the features that were to dominate centuries of European diplomatic relations. G. P. Cuttino would not concede that this technique was an Italian innovation; the same policy, he said, was fol-

lowed as early as the thirteenth century by Henry III and Edward I of England.

One of the papers read at the session on English Life and Thought, about 1600, was Raymond P. Stearns's "The Scientific Spirit in Early Modern Times". Mr. Stearns noted that, while in modern Europe at large the emergence of the scientific spirit is usually placed in 1543, in England it is commonly assigned to the early seventeenth century. Recent works demonstrate the inadequacy of this notion; there was a long list of scientific workers in England between 1540 and 1600 and a scientific tradition dating from the time of Roger Bacon. Mr. Stearns classified the circumstances which fostered the emergence of the scientific spirit at this time under three heads: the nature of the philosophical outlook, the influence of the rising middle class, and the effects of geographical discovery and of industrial and commercial expansion. He concluded that the works of Gilbert, Harvey, and Francis Bacon "are illustrative of the maturity of the English scientific spirit, not of its inception in the English nation".

Two papers were devoted to the Enlightenment. Arthur M. Wilson, in "The Philosophes—Philosophers More Than They Seem", pointed out that because the eighteenth century philosophers used the terms "science" and "philosophy" interchangeably, emphasized the common-sense and practical aspects of their thought, prided themselves on a polished literary style, and had an aversion for philosophical systems, they have seemed to posterity less philosophical than they really were. Actually, they canvassed once again the standard metaphysical problems and tried hard to interpret nature rightly. In consequence, their speculation was not merely rationalistic; as the century advanced their thought turned more and more to the organic, the functional, and the dynamic, and in their analysis of human nature and social institutions they came to attribute ever larger importance to emotional and irrational factors. The eighteenth century was thus no mere philosophical *cul de sac* but a link in the secular chain of philosophical speculation. Penfield Roberts evaluated the corrosive effect of "enlightened" ideas on what Bagehot would have called the "cake of custom" of the Old Regime, not only in France but in England. The corporate tradition, represented by the manorial system and customary land tenures, was the basic element in the Old Regime everywhere. But the familiar ideas of the Enlightenment about liberty, equality, and property, which may be summed up in the word "individualism", were bound to dissolve this corporate tradition, which other factors, chiefly economic, were also de-

stroying. In the discussion Robert R. Palmer raised the question of whether some of the canonized ones had not sought at least as earnestly to be bright as to be right, and the chairman, Chester V. Easum, asked how philosophical a *philosophe* had to be to qualify as a philosopher.

At the session on Science and Technology, Henry Guerlac showed the continuity of scientific work in France during the Revolutionary period. In spite of the closing of the Académie des sciences and even the execution of Lavoisier, Bailly, and Condorcet, scientific work and scientific publication never ceased. The scientists of the period made great contributions to industrial, military, and naval progress and were responsible for the founding of institutions like the Conservatoire des arts and the École polytechnique. In "Positivism and the Technocratic Ideal" G. de Santillana continued this discussion down past the middle of the nineteenth century. Laying his emphasis chiefly on the social ideals of Comte, he showed how this thought combined the scientist's faith in the power of reason to reconstruct society with the belief that the good of the group is fully as important as that of the individual. Louis Gottschalk, in the discussion, showed how the interest in science and scientific research had, between 1600 and 1850, gone hand in hand with an interest in social and political reform; he regretted the separation of the two now. The chairman, Frederick B. Artz, pointed out that the values set up by both the eighteenth and early nineteenth century social reformers were absolute, not relative, though in the eighteenth century the values were justified in relation to an order of "nature" and in the early nineteenth century in relation to some scheme or other of social evolution.

Three papers on the history of disease and demography were presented at the joint session with the History of Science Society. Esmond R. Long took as his subject "Evolution in the Application of Medical Science" and drew attention to the fact that there was a steady increase in mass, as contrasted with individual, practice in the evolution of the application of medical science. In "Changes in the Social Distribution of Disease" Henry E. Sigerist emphasized the tremendous changes in the general incidence of illness during the last fifty years. Since there is a "solidarity in health matters" that cannot be neglected with impunity, the chief point of attack must be where diseases occur most—in the low-income groups and the economically backward countries. "The Epidemic Constitution in Historical Perspective" was the subject of Iago Galdston's paper. Noting the contributions to epidemiological thought made by Hippocrates, Galen, Sydenham, and nineteenth century re-

search, he pointed out that in recent decades important discoveries in endocrinology, nutrition, and psychiatry are redirecting attention to the Hippocratic concept.

In the field of ancient history, the Dura Excavations were described and evaluated by Michael I. Rostovtzeff, C. Bradford Welles, and Frank E. Brown. Mr. Rostovtzeff sketched briefly the history of Dura, pointing out the ways in which the excavations have modified and enlarged our knowledge of Roman military affairs and emphasizing their value for the student of first and second century religions. Mr. Welles's paper, "The Survivals of Hellenism", was read in his absence in the armed services by Mr. Brown. It dwelt largely on the vitality of the Greek tongue in Dura. In Mr. Welles's opinion Dura remained for the five centuries of its life in many essential respects a Greek city, the inhabitants of which acted and thought like Greeks. In his own paper, "The Orientalization of Dura", Mr. Brown took the opposite view, pointing out that all of Mr. Welles's evidence was drawn from written documents, without regard to archaeology, which alone could show whether the people lived, dressed, worshiped, and thought like Greeks. From a study of Dura we may conclude that the fate of Hellenism in a community in the Near East depended chiefly upon its possessing a considerable body of thoroughly Hellenized original settlers and upon the early development of civic institutions with power to perpetuate themselves regardless of outside authority. Such, maintained Mr. Brown, had not been the case in Dura.

Industrial Slavery was the general subject of papers by C. Martin Wilbur and William L. Westermann. In "Industrial Slavery in Han China" Mr. Wilbur pointed out that slavery was an integral though minor element in the Han social system. Slaves served in many capacities; but the adequate supply of free labor, the nonexistence of industrial production for export, and the legislative measures discouraging investment in slaves for business purposes must have reduced the economic importance of slave labor in industry. Mr. Westermann, in "Slavery in Industry in the Roman West", outlined the slow process of the rise of slave employment from the agricultural and domestic scene to a position in industry, business management, and state administration. Noting that the period of intensified employment of slave labor in skilled trades in Italy roughly coincided with the growing influence of Stoicism, he contended that if Stoicism and Christianity contributed to the amelioration of the conditions of slavery, this must have happened after other

economic and social factors had already effected important changes. Discussing the papers, Michael Ginsburg noted that they showed once more that the institution of slavery has its peculiar characteristics in every country where it is found, characteristics depending upon factors specific for each country. He added his support to Mr. Westermann's thesis.

At what Henri Grégoire and A. A. Vasiliev described as a highly stimulating session, medievalists listened to two papers, Ernst Levy's "Reflections on the First 'Reception' of Roman Law in Germanic States", and Emil Lucki's "The Colonnate in Legislation from Constantine to Charles the Bald". According to Mr. Levy, the adoption of Roman law by the Visigoths between the fifth and the seventh century constituted a "reception" no less momentous than that at the time of the Renaissance. Yet, contrary to prevailing opinion, it did not result in any real Romanization of Gothic law, the aim of the Visigoths being to take advantage of the form of the superior Roman system and yet maintain in substance their native customs. Charles P. Megan judged this paper to be foolproof; he felt that, since the Goths were the most civilized of the Germanic invaders, nonreception of Roman law by them would have been more striking than reception. The comment of Robert Lopez was also favorable; but he believed it necessary, in studying Receswinth's codification of Visigothic law, to take into account a possible re-emergence of local customs and the likelihood of Byzantine influence. Mr. Lucki's paper presented the principal results of his investigation of the colonate in Gaul from the fourth to the ninth century. Based on a detailed study of the Roman imperial codes of law and the compilations of laws and charters of the Germanic peoples who replaced the Roman state in Gaul, this investigation revealed that the colonate did not undergo any substantial modifications in this period. In the colonate we have another of those Roman imperial institutions which persisted in the West long after the Roman state had there ceased to exist. Mr. Megan's comment on this paper suggested its importance for a comparative study of serfdom in England, France, Prussia, and Russia.

In "The Medieval Background of Current Political Problems in the Balkan Peninsula" Henri Grégoire stressed the importance in Balkan history of the fact that in the Balkans ran the line of demarcation between the Latin and Greek parts of the Roman Empire. Along this line barbarian wedges were inserted. Balkan unity and an orientation toward Constantinople were largely due to a common opposition to the Latins, developing with the Norman attacks on the peninsula, the schism in

the church, and the Crusades. In the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks took advantage of internal dissensions among the Christians to establish in the peninsula "the Byzantine Empire of the Ottoman nation". All traces of Latinization disappeared. When the Ottoman power began to disintegrate, all the old national groups reappeared in the Balkans much as they had been in the fourteenth century. Following this paper A. E. R. Boak discussed the continuity of Roman tradition among the Rumanians; Peter Charanis expanded on the sources of internal disruption in the fourteenth century; while George Vernadsky pointed out the vigorous continuity of the Slavic language and the popularity of the Turkish regime among the peasants.

A lighter touch was introduced in "A Gay Crusader", which was read by James L. Cate at the dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America. His paper illustrated the importance of "dealing with particular acts of particular men" and pointed to the secularism which existed beneath the religious motivation of the Crusades. Mr. Cate wittily related the crusading exploits of William IX of Aquitaine. A blithe writer of lyrics and connoisseur of women, William evidently saw no need, once he had taken the cross, of greatly altering his ways of life; though he lamented in conventional fashion the pleasures left behind, he was foresighted enough to take along a bevy of joyous maids.

Three sessions were devoted to various aspects of English history from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. At the session on English Life and Thought, about 1600, Mildred Campbell presented some of the fruits of her research on the English yeoman. The term "yeoman", she maintained, was descriptive rather than legal and referred to a rural middle class of some economic and social position. Many yeomen were at this time moving into the ranks of the gentry; and the impact of commercial expansion and rising prices was, on the whole, advantageous to the yeomen, enabling them to extend their acreage bit by bit. Miss Campbell stressed the importance of the yeomen as the executors, in the parish, of the scores of regulations nationally imposed by the Tudor and Stuart governments. In "Central Power versus Local Autonomy" William B. Willcox declared that localism was a revolutionary force in Elizabethan England, contributed to the revolutions of 1642 and 1688, and was not dissipated until the eighteenth century. The power of local loyalties was inherent in the Tudor system, and though its centrifugal force was restrained by a national emergency under Elizabeth, it was released with the advent of security under James. The resultant friction destroyed the Tudor system. In discussing these papers

Goldwin Smith suggested that the strongest evidence of a conflict between localism and centralization may be found in the localism that resisted economic, especially technological, changes, but he was inclined to doubt Mr. Willcox's statement that "the Stuart experiment in centralization failed . . . because the king's policy ran counter to the rooted instincts of localism".

The session on Eighteenth Century English Politics included four papers and formal discussion. In a provocative paper on "The Conscience of the Governing Class" Lewis P. Curtis analyzed a group of ideas generally accepted by the aristocracy, and he pointed out that these ideas, symbolized by the phrase "virtue and wisdom", comprised a "philosophy of leadership and obligation" that provided the ruling class with the moral basis for successful statesmanship and endowed it with a "social conscience which qualified self-interest". G. H. Guttridge followed with a discussion of "Whiggism in English Politics, 1760-1783". Within the Whig creed of contractual limitation of authority there developed a new Toryism based on the "divine right of Crown in Parliament". George III and his Whig opponents both accepted parliamentary supremacy, and this agreement on a fundamental constitutional principle precluded a frontal Opposition assault on the royal position. Despite the stimulation afforded by Burke, Whiggism lost all distinguishing reality, eventually losing its adherents either to parliamentary Toryism or to radicalism. The third paper, on "The Magazine and Politics", by C. Lennart Carlson, traced the development of the magazine, with particular reference to the *Gentleman's*, and showed how editors fought for freedom of parliamentary reporting, provided increasingly fuller news of America and the empire, and helped in the political education of the electorate by furnishing impartial information on public issues. The final paper, on "The Evolution of the Humanitarian Spirit", by Frank J. Klingberg, was read by Frederick C. Dietz. After dealing briefly with the increase of social abuses, Mr. Klingberg sketched the development of humanitarian movements, stressing the antislavery crusade, and concluded that humanitarianism was the work of generous spirits in all ranks of society. Robert Walcott, jr., opened the discussion by raising the question of whether governing-class leadership was beneficent or particularly successful. Admitting that the aristocratic ideal of "virtue and wisdom" was reflected in a high sense of individual duty, he denied to the eighteenth century governor a "social conscience" in the usual meaning of the term. He concluded that the political and social reforms of the period were primarily the work of middle-class and Nonconformist groups.

The session devoted to England in the Eighteen-Forties, held at the Newberry Library, offered three papers. In "Peel in 1841" A. H. Imlah endeavored to show that Peel was more than a party organizer. He had, Mr. Imlah contended, a thorough knowledge of British economic and social ills and was statesman enough to lead his party and the nation toward the necessary reforms of free trade despite the hostility of a majority of his party. H. Donaldson Jordan appraised the political role of the middle class in this period. Because admittance to aristocratic ranks was not too difficult for members of this class, it refrained from taking away the political leadership of the weak aristocracy. It succeeded in effecting the economic program of free trade and the social program of reform and then entered into a partial alliance with the gentry against the lower classes. In "Victorian Morality and Social Reform" William O. Aydelotte dwelt on the twin developments of moral revival in the Evangelical groups and in the awakening social conscience of the reformers of mid-Victorian England. Later reforms, he believed, were inspired partly by the moral fervor of the Evangelicals and partly by the zeal of the reformers. But why, he asked, did the Evangelicals favor private charity and oppose political movements for the betterment of the people, such as Chartism? At the conclusion of the session the tea for the Nineteenth Century English History Group took place.

Two papers on modern Italian developments were read at the session entitled Italy in Transition. In "The Venetian Problem in 1848 and 1849" Howard M. Smyth pointed out the great differences between the territorial problem of Lombardy and that of Venetia in the unification of Italy. Venetia was of far greater importance to Austria than was Lombardy: it was adjacent territory which gave the Habsburgs a sea frontage. Though the Austrian government made several attempts in 1848 to negotiate peace on the basis of the surrender of Lombardy, neither in 1848 nor in 1849 did it consider abandoning Venetia. Mr. Smyth described the halfhearted attempt of Charles Albert to free Venetia and noted how the pressure of popular forces transformed his dynastic war into a national war. In the second paper Gaudens Megaro singled out for discussion a number of misconceptions regarding the history of Italy since the eighteenth century. These erroneous views related to the beginnings of the Risorgimento, the character of the eighteenth century in Italy, the nature of Italian parliamentary institutions, the extent of political corruption between 1861 and 1922, the character of Italian foreign policy, the Roman Question, and the achievements of pre-fascist Italy. In the discussion Catherine Boyd read a brief statement

by Gaetano Salvemini, who was unable to be present, attacking the view that the Italian government broke down because its citizens did not vote. S. William Halperin agreed with Mr. Megaro that two periods should be distinguished in the history of the Roman Question, 1870 to 1900 and 1900 to 1929, and criticized the tendency to pass moral judgments on the foreign policy of Italy.

At the session on Balkan History the importance of Western influence was evaluated. John C. Campbell, examining the intellectual history of Rumania from 1830 to 1870, and Cyril E. Black, from a study of political thought in Bulgaria from 1850 to 1885, concluded that Western influence was of paramount importance in these countries. In Rumania it was French writers in the tradition of 1789 who provided the doctrinal basis for Rumanian nationalism. Bulgarian liberal thought was a mosaic pieced together from the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau, Mazzini and Bakunin, Gladstone and Bagehot. Once independent, however, both countries experienced a conservative reaction and turned to the authoritarian principles of Germany. John C. Adams found in Serbia between 1903 and 1914 no evidence of such dependence on the West. Here a spirit of independence reigned. Serb nationalism "did not derive from the French Revolution but from the memory of the medieval Serbian empire". The discussion produced considerable divergence of opinion, though the strong influence of Western ideas on Balkan intellectuals was generally conceded.

Jesse D. Clarkson's "Labor and Socialism in Russia" provided the theme for discussion at the session on Modern Russia. Mr. Clarkson pointed out that the origins of the labor movement and socialism are diverse: working-class interests are responsible for the former, while socialism originated among the bourgeois intelligentsia. These movements clash when their interests diverge. Pursuing this theme through the history of the movements, Mr. Clarkson maintained that the November Revolution may have been for the workers but certainly was not of the workers or by the workers. Alfred Levin, James F. Bunyan, and Leonid I. Strakhovsky were in general agreement with Mr. Clarkson's conclusions; but Mr. Bunyan added that they applied to the period 1918-21. Later developments, he said, cannot be called socialism. Mr. Strakhovsky declared that socialism in Russia was a paradox, except for the *narodnik* movement.

In the realm of American history, efforts to portray various phases of political and social development were made in several sessions. The joint session with the Southern Historical Association was devoted to

the topic of the Republican Party in the South. Each of the three papers read was a factual analysis of a problem within a certain state. James W. Patton discussed the factors which led to the elimination of the Republican party from South Carolina politics in the two decades after 1876. He placed emphasis both on the structural weaknesses of the party and the vigorous and unrelenting determination of the Democrats to adopt measures, legal and otherwise, to prevent Republican voting. In South Carolina the Republican party was something to be destroyed, and this end was to all intents achieved by the nineties. Elliott O. Watson described the beginnings of the Republican party in North Carolina. He balanced the good and bad in its record and explained the factors which conditioned and limited its growth. Judson C. Ward dealt with the party in Georgia in the years of Bourbon domination between Reconstruction and Tom Watson. Opportunism and factionalism, indecision and confused attitudes toward the Negro in politics, rendered it ineffective in these years.

The session on Business Enterprise in the American West before the Civil War included two papers: Ralph W. Hidy's "Anglo-American Merchant Bankers and the Railroads of the Northwest, 1848-1860" and Paul W. Gates's "The Role of the Land Speculator". In the absence of Lieutenant Hidy, now in the armed services, his paper was read by Mrs. Hidy. Mr. Hidy's investigations were centered around Baring Brothers and Company and George Peabody and Company; Western rail financing was but one of the many functions performed by them, and into this field they drifted by accident. Despite their activities, which were described at some length, the largest part of the necessary capital during this and subsequent periods came from the United States. To assess the profits and losses of these rail transactions is difficult: the panic of 1857 caused both houses some embarrassment, and it is likely that over a period of years they proved unprofitable. Mr. Gates revealed that the role played by the land speculator in the West involved more than obtaining lands in anticipation of a profitable market. He engaged in other remunerative activities, such as loaning money to squatters at high rates of interest, attending to the payment of taxes on land, protecting the land from timber thieves, and examining and selling lands for Eastern operators. Agnes Larson commented primarily on the Gates paper by pointing out that too little attention has been paid to the small, successful businessman, who sold out in the East and invested his money in Western lands. Fred A. Shannon made favorable remarks on both papers but challenged Mr. Gates's statement that desire for land

was the only motivating force which sent thousands westward. He believed that the demand for railway labor was likewise important.

The joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was devoted to Frederick Jackson Turner. Appraising Turner as a historian, Avery Craven found that, for stimulation and suggestion, the concept of the frontier still stands as a great landmark in American historiography. Turner's critics who denounce his concept for its lack of exactness and tendency toward generalization, or because it does not contain everything which might conceivably be included in a complete formula for the writing of American history, miss its whole purpose and value. It was but a starting point: an approach to an understanding of the sections created by Western expansion and their interaction in creating the United States. In "Turner's Frontier Hypothesis in the Light of Modern Criticism" George W. Pierson presented the results of his studies on Turner's frontier essays, of a survey of controversial literature on the Turnerian hypothesis, and of a questionnaire submitted to professors of the social sciences, and he concluded that Turner put forth an ascertainable hypothesis. Among the scholars interrogated, Turner's defenders outnumbered his critics, but there appeared to be strong disagreement with respect to the role of Turner's pupils and continuators over whether the hypothesis is a sectional theory and whether critics have taken the theory too literally.

Sundry Agricultural Frontiers of the United States provided themes for a joint session of the Association and the Agricultural History Society. Rodney C. Loehr witnessed settlers "Moving Back from the Atlantic Seaboard" in "wavelike forms", affected by wars and economic stress. He pictured frontiersmen migrating to the Western country, clearing land, building temporary and permanent cabins, and improvising rude furniture. Corn was their most important article of diet; the axe their most significant tool. Frolics lightened hard toil. The most insistent problem that faced the settlers was the marketing of their surplus. New Orleans provided a natural outlet, but the building of canals and railroads opened up better markets to the East. Mr. Loehr emphasized internal improvements as the absorbing issue among Westerners. In presenting settlers "Advancing across the Eastern Mississippi Valley", Russell H. Anderson defined an agricultural frontier as "that area in which an appreciable settlement has been made and which is still being thought of as a source of virgin land". As migrants moved to new frontier areas, they followed rather than crossed river lines, often avoiding woodlands and prairies and enveloping Indian regions. Mr.

Anderson analyzed successive periods of frontier extension into the immediate West, the Northwest, and the Southwest and explained the influence of agricultural implements and crops. By the outbreak of the Civil War "the only unsettled spots in the map of the United States east of the ninety-fifth meridian were northwestern Iowa, western and northern Minnesota (much of which was not adapted to agriculture), northern Wisconsin and Michigan (likewise beyond the potential agricultural frontier), the Adirondacks, northern Maine, southern Florida, and fringes of the Gulf Coast". "Going beyond the ninety-fifth meridian", Everett Dick identified three distinct frontiers: a rain-belt area 250 miles wide, in which cultivation approximated that in states to the east except for a scarcity of trees, which prompted the building of sod houses and the use of cow chips and hay for fuel; a dry farming belt west of the one hundredth meridian, settled in the 1880's by farmers who plowed deep, kept a dust mulch by frequent cultivation, and practiced summer fallowing; and an irrigation frontier with small farms, intensive farming, and co-operative associations for maintaining water. In point of time the irrigation frontier, as an adjunct to mining and ranching, antedated the dry farming frontier.

The desire for co-operation among scholars in different areas of the Western Hemisphere was reflected in the numerous papers with Pan-American themes. At the luncheon conference on Latin America, Jorge Basadre led off with "The United and the Disunited States". He branded as false the notion that North American historians are unable to understand Latin America racially or nationally. Existing differences do not make for real disunity between the nations of the North and the South. On the positive side, multiple cohesive forces are evident in the evolutions of the American peoples, such as a common prehistory, similar colonial divergences from Old World patterns, common immigrant traditions, like development of ideological links and in the formation of national consciousness, similar social ferments and political experimentations; and finally, "the same dangers, the same enemies, the same challenge, the same destiny". In view of the many requests for copies of the address the *Hispanic American Historical Review* plans to publish it.

The theme of "Do the Americas have a Common History?" was further investigated by William C. Binkley, Germán Arciniegas, George W. Brown, and Edmundo O'Gorman, who presented, respectively, a United States, Colombian, Canadian, and Mexican point of view. Mr. Binkley pointed out that a denial of the possibility of a synthetic history

of the Americas must be based upon a demonstration that the American nations lack common experiences susceptible of synthetic treatment and present-day bonds of interest. He maintained, as had Mr. Basadre, that these factors are not lacking. Mr. Arciniegas asserted that the struggle against the forces of the New World made Americans of Europeans; hence we can speak of an American history. Mr. Brown drew attention to two opposing tendencies in Canadian development—the tendency toward complete Canadian autonomy and that of co-operation with Britain. Canadians do not regard this compromise as un-American. Referring to Canada's role in the present war, he pointed out that in relation to the problem of world order the Americas have had a common history—a history which challenges them to a common responsibility. Mr. O'Gorman answered in the negative. He maintained that apparently common American colonial characteristics really represent the phenomenon of colonization in general and should not obscure the fact that colonial Latin America was a projection of medieval Spain and Portugal, while the colonization of British America represents the antagonistic spirit of modern England. He denied that the struggle for autonomy in the two Americas was similar and concluded by advocating the recognition of the inherited distinctiveness of the two regions as the key to an understanding of Pan-American history.

It should be noted in this connection that at the joint session with the National Council for the Social Studies, at which the teaching of history in high schools was discussed, the principal theme was the need for broadening courses in American history by devoting more time to pertinent aspects of the Pan-American and Pan-Pacific scenes. Papers by Robert S. Ellwood, Mary Elizabeth Knight, and Erling M. Hunt were read and discussed. Mr. Ellwood's topic was "Pan-American History". He dwelt on the responsibility of the secondary schools in laying a foundation for the Good Neighbor policy by supplying knowledge and understanding of Latin America. Topics, books, and teaching material were listed and illustrated in an exhibit. Miss Knight supported her plea for a study of "Pan-Pacific Relations in Senior High School History" by describing a popular course in this field taught since 1922 in the secondary schools of Seattle. Mr. Hunt's paper on "Canada and the British Empire" called for "new histories" and "a reorganization of the old" so that Canadian history, hitherto dropped at 1763 and ignored thereafter, may be properly presented with emphasis on co-operation rather than contention over trivial points. The whole base of history should be widened to include the social and cultural developments shared by the English-speaking peoples.

Latin-American problems figured in two other sessions. One was devoted to Business Enterprise. A. P. Nasatir, Harold F. Peterson, and Fritz L. Hoffman discussed three businessmen of early Illinois, the Plata area, and Mexico: They were Jacques Clamorgan, a leading figure in the Spanish economic organization of northern and western Louisiana; Edward A. Hopkins, who spent half a century in the Plata area (1841-91) and who was a tireless propagandist of the opportunities awaiting North American enterprise; and Edward L. Doheny, the oil magnate. All three, as William W. Welsh noted in the discussion, were adventurers of the promoter type, not typical businessmen; Doheny differed in his unusually sound judgment. Mr. Welsh stressed the value of studying the social effects of promotion and reactions to promoters, placing less emphasis on the promoters themselves, and suggested that the historian might thus help to overcome the businessman's inadequacy in meeting present-day problems. At the joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association the theme was a consideration of Church and State in Latin America. Arthur S. Aiton, in "Ideas on Church-State Relations in Nineteenth Century Latin America", emphasized the fact that the roots of the complex relationship lay buried in three centuries of Spanish colonial history. During the colonial period proper, Spanish civil officials exercised wide powers in the appointment of church officials. When the revolutionary movement in Latin America had separated the various states from Spain, the chaotic political and social conditions in many countries harmed the church. The various new governments demanded that they be given the powers over the church that had formerly been exercised by the Spanish; and the strained relations were made even more unsatisfactory by the rather general despoiling of charitable and religious foundations. The attitudes of such leaders as Miranda, Bolivar, and San Martín were presented as representative of opinion on the church-state relationship. One generalization could be advanced, "namely, that wherever there was a free church protected in its legitimate sphere of influence, in a free state, there was general satisfaction and progress". In the second paper W. Eugene Shiels further developed this theme, concentrating most of his attention on the relations between church and state as they existed in Mexico between 1821 and 1831. This period and the Mexican nation were selected as presenting a cross section of nineteenth century Latin America.

A goodly number of papers were devoted to the study, teaching, writing, and popularization of history. The role of the historian in war-

time was an absorbing problem. At the luncheon conference of the Modern History Group the "dignity of history" in times of war was the central theme. Leo Gershoy surveyed the problems and activities of historians during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic epoch, concluding that with few exceptions they abandoned the role of detached observers and became partisans of this or that political philosophy and purveyors of the emerging nationalist dogmas. Oron James Hale analyzed the physical and spiritual environment of history and historians during the last war. Never before, he asserted, had a great military struggle been carried forward with such complete consciousness of historical backgrounds and implications. The unfortunate lapses from complete objectivity, as well as the heretofore unrecognized limitations of history itself, may account for the disillusionment of both the public and the historians after 1918. Nevertheless, Mr. Hale pointed out that the leading scholarly publications of the belligerent countries maintained a high standard of scholarship both in reviewing current historical literature and in presenting learned articles. The most serious casualty was the almost complete cessation of large-scale publication. Beyond a few studies that were practically completed in 1914 there were no important contributions to historical knowledge made during the war.

The desirability of maintaining the highest canons of the historical profession in times of crisis and war was the principal concern at the session on Historiography. In "The Historian and the Present Conflict of Ideas" Crane Brinton supported the ivory tower concept of historical study on the ground that objectivity is no less necessary in times of crisis than in times of relative stability. Mr. Brinton clearly distinguished between the historian and the private citizen. The historian must maintain his respect for facts and his devotion to tentative, cautious, and unpartisan judgments based on facts; as a private citizen the historian must take sides in the conflict of ideas by making decisions that embrace moral ends as absolutes. In general the participants in the discussion expressed fundamental agreement with this position. Richard H. Shryock pointed out, however, that the line separating theory and practice in our field is a thin one and that it may be impossible for the historian to act merely as a historian or merely as a human being. Mr. Shryock also disagreed with Mr. Brinton's suggestion that, on the whole, the historian had little to learn from the other social disciplines. Frank Monaghan presented the case for the responsibility of the historian in social and practical functions; while Sidney R. Packard discussed the implications of Mr. Brinton's thesis for the teacher of history.

The history teacher's function in wartime was also discussed at the luncheon of the National Council for the Social Studies. Howard R. Anderson, in "Historical Perspective on Our Teaching of the World War", declared that part of the history teacher's contribution to the current war effort is to teach intelligently and truthfully "the background of the First World War, the mistakes made at the Peace Conference and in the period which followed; and to trace the roots of the Second World War to their proper source". By a survey of textbooks in American and European history and of articles appearing in professional magazines for social science teachers published between 1914 and 1941, Mr. Anderson was able to appraise certain attitudes and trends in the teaching of the First World War. He scored the apparent indifference to the war between 1914 and 1917 and outlined what was generally taught between 1917 and 1941 with respect to war guilt, American participation, and the postwar settlement.

A considerable interest was displayed in the study of local history. At a session devoted largely to its value Constance McLaughlin Green considered "Local Historical Research as a Basic Discipline in the Training of Social Scientists". She characterized local history as the history of modern civilization in microcosm, and its study as giving opportunity for a more exhaustive examination of data and a more careful testing of forces than is possible in a wider field. Bayrd Still emphasized the superior character of co-operative research in local history and discussed how "the reservoir of potential researchers" may be made available to the scholar who is willing to supply guidance and leadership. Louis Wirth was interested, as a sociologist, in local history because here alone can man be studied in the primary group relationships. He urged historians to be less bound by documents and to experiment more with other techniques.

At the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association Carl Sandburg admonished his audience not to get too far away from the people in interpreting both past and present, while Edward P. Alexander suggested that we study the history of "Mudville": the typical small American community. Here, where immigrants from many lands live peaceably as Americans, is democracy—and important social history—in the making. Here, under proper guidance, Mudvillians may receive moral and intellectual stimulation by discovering the individuality of their locality and by learning to appreciate its distinctive personality.

The means of increasing the membership of historical societies was discussed at the joint session with the American Association for State

and Local History. Floyd C. Shoemaker set the tone of the discussion by declaring that state history should be popularized and must be popularized if state historical societies are to expect popular support but that this should not mean deterioration of standards. He noted the importance of reference and library services, addresses, and personal contacts as a means of interesting the public but emphasized the essential value of publications, as did Paul M. Angle. Richard L. Beyer (discussing the problems of a regional organization which did not publish) and William G. Roelker stressed effective publicity, programs pitched to various interests, and the inclusion of college students in activities.

The customary luncheon meeting of the Editorial Staffs was held. Bertha E. Josephson urged that graduate schools consider the advisability of training their students in the habits of good writing as well as in the accepted methods of historical research. C. C. Crittenden maintained that more readers for historical journals could be secured if historians, rooting out the old contempt for the stylist and paying more heed to the techniques of creative writing, would write for a wider and more laic circle.

The session on Historical Materials was devoted to "A Program for Micro-Copying Historical Materials", presented by Edgar L. Erickson. This paper is to be printed in full in a forthcoming number of the *Journal of Documentary Reproduction*. Mr. Erickson pointed out the need for a systematic program of future micro-reproduction and submitted that this could best be achieved through the appointment of a committee of energetic historians who would plan, direct, and promote the micro-publishing of materials for use rather than for preservation, including doctoral dissertations. After a discussion led by Julian P. Boyd, William T. Morgan, and Richard W. Hale, jr., C. W. de Kiewiet offered a resolution recommending to the American Historical Association the appointment of a subcommittee to the Committee on Historical Source Materials to provide a program for micro-copying historical materials. The resolution was adopted.

The announced topic for the joint luncheon conference with the Society of American Archivists was broadened to "Records in the War Emergency". Solon J. Buck, leading the discussion, reported briefly on the plans of the President's Committee on the Conservation of Cultural Resources and described the handbook of Federal World War I agencies being compiled by the National Archives. Plans for the collection of historical materials produced by nongovernmental agencies were described by Herbert A. Kellar and Lester J. Cappon; and Mrs. Theodore

C. Pease recounted her experiences in making such a collection for Illinois just after the last war. A general discussion on the care of records in wartime closed the conference.

Of cardinal importance at the meeting was David Owen's "Memorandum on the Problem of Placement". It pointed out that the number of Ph. D.'s in history had trebled in the past two decades, while the teaching opportunities have failed to show an adequate increase. The situation raises three important questions in regard to graduate school policy: should the number of doctorates be reduced, should the training in graduate schools be adapted to secure greater teaching ability, and should the American Historical Association or some interuniversity group undertake a better placement service? By implication Mr. Owen's "Memorandum" gave an affirmative answer in each case. Discussing the problem, Max Savelle, Fletcher Green, William B. Hesseltine, and Raymond J. Sontag felt that no arbitrary limitations should be put on the number of Ph. D.'s, though each favored higher standards and more care in selecting candidates. Mr. Savelle felt that personality factors should be more fully considered in advising graduates, while Mr. Hesseltine spoke especially against decreasing the specialized research training in the Ph. D. program. Each of the speakers felt that trained historians might find employment in archives, libraries, and historical societies. Mr. Sontag, reporting for the Council of the Association, announced that it had decided against setting up a placement agency. The existence of university placement bureaus and commercial agencies, the experience of other learned societies, and the national emergency all contributed to this decision.

The meeting emphasized the seriousness of the placement problem and indicated that no graduate school had solved it. If it left the many graduate students and young Ph. D.'s who crowded into the room without a satisfactory answer, it at least revealed that members of the Association are alive to the problem and are giving it serious thought.

The annual business meeting was held at 3:30 on Tuesday afternoon, December 30. An account of it will be found in this issue under "Historical News".

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RECENT WORK ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION¹

A little over two years ago the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the French Revolution was being celebrated. No one, even among skeptics and detractors of that movement, could have predicted the events of the following twelve months. It is possible that the era dominated by the concepts initiated by the French Revolution, embodied in the trinity of words, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", has passed forever or that a different emphasis and meaning will be given to each of the words. It is doubly fitting at this time to take stock of recent developments in scholarship on the French Revolution, both because of the emergence of a new ideology and because research on that period of history must necessarily pause with the spring of 1940. It will be some time to come before French archives and research facilities will again be available.

Various general bibliographical surveys of French Revolutionary history have appeared in the last decade, the most recent of which is an excellent article by Georges Lefebvre, published in 1939.² In view of such articles and surveys and of the lists of publications carried in the *American Historical Review*, the *Journal of Modern History*, the *Révolution française*, and the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, the last two being now suspended, it would serve no very useful purpose to list all the works that have appeared in the last decade. It is, however, worth while to examine in some detail certain recent developments in the history of the French Revolution and to call attention to a number of significant French publications that have elicited little editorial comment among American historians.

No survey of the history of the French Revolution would be adequate without a personal reference to Georges Lefebvre, successor of Mathiez as president of the Robespierrist Society and as editor of the

¹ A paper read at the December, 1940, meeting of the American Historical Association. The present text represents a revision as of January, 1942.

² Henry E. Bourne published an article on the economic history of the Revolution in the *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (Jan., 1928), 315-22, and gave a more extensive general bibliography of the whole Revolution in the *Guide to Historical Literature*, edited by Dutcher, Shipman, Fay, Shearer, and Allison and published in 1937. The article by Georges Lefebvre appeared in two sections in the *Bulletin of the Revue historique*, CLXXXVII (Jan. and Feb., 1939), 63-112, 184-224, 225-56 (after p. 227 the bibliography dealt with the Napoleonic period).

Annales historiques de la Révolution française and professor of French Revolutionary history at the Sorbonne. There will be frequent citation in this article from his book reviews, his articles, and his books. His prolific output bespeaks an encyclopedic mind, and his guidance is directly or indirectly behind most of the work that has been done upon the French Revolution in recent years. During the present enforced silence it is to be hoped that he is able to assemble materials for future publication.

In his own study Lefebvre pursued a method which has already been productive of many significant volumes and will be the approach for further work when French archives are reopened. The procedure was to study some angle of the Revolutionary period in a particular region of France—in the case of Lefebvre, to study the peasants in the northern area.³ A scholar with a narrow vision would have seen only the local situation, but Lefebvre never lost sight of the issues as affecting France as a whole. The study of national problems in a limited area served to illuminate their operation in the larger unit and prompted all kinds of questions tending to qualify old generalizations or to throw new light upon material already known.

In celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the French Revolution, Lefebvre published a book entitled *Quatre-vingt-neuf*.⁴ This work of synthesis presented a thesis which should throw some new light on an old question related to the Revolution. Although Lefebvre has drawn heavily upon the socioeconomic interpretation of Mathiez, he lacks the bias of the former antagonist of Aulard, and while working in every period of the Revolution has gradually evolved his own theory of the Revolutionary period. This is most clearly presented in *Quatre-vingt-neuf*.

Ever since the Revolution historians have disagreed upon whether conditions in France prior to 1789 or the influence of eighteenth century philosophy was the prime cause of the French Revolution. Lefebvre's volume dealt primarily with one year, 1789, but by implication he indicated that the decade 1789-99 was not *one* revolution but *several*. The Revolution began with an aristocratic revolution, primarily political, against the king. This was followed by, and in its later phases coincided with, a bourgeois revolution, also primarily political. A social and a political revolution were precipitated by the direct action of the popular masses, notably on and after July 14, 1789, in urban centers, while the

³ *Les paysans du nord pendant la Révolution française* (2 vols., Paris, 1924).

⁴ Paris, Maison du livre français, 1939.

peasants, with different social and economic aims, also were carrying on a revolution, centering around August, 1789. Each of these revolutions had its own objectives, not always harmonious with the others, its own methods, and each achieved differing degrees of success.

If one applies this thesis to the successive years of the Revolution, one may trace the ways in which these separate revolutions became merged or entangled, with the more radical currents becoming dominant from 1792 to 1794. If one accepts this interpretation of the Revolutionary period, one ceases to argue whether conditions or philosophy was a chief factor in bringing about the French Revolution and begins to analyze the factors that focus around the aristocratic revolution, the bourgeois revolution, the urban, or the rural. Lefebvre did not have in mind a class struggle in the Marxian sense but described the revolutionary movements of various groups whose separation of status and aims derived from the Old Regime.

Several recent works on the history of prices contribute new light on the condition of the urban and rural lower classes on the eve of the Revolution. C. E. Labrousse, a pupil and disciple of François Simiand, the economist, published in 1933 two stout volumes entitled *Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus en France au xviii^e siècle*. They were undertaken as part of a monumental work on social insurance, but all of Labrousse's publications so far have centered upon prices in eighteenth century France. While Labrousse was making his investigations for these volumes, the International Scientific Committee on the History of Prices, under the chairmanship of Sir William Beveridge, started its work with the aid of grants from the Rockefeller Foundation. Henri Hauser, an eminent elder French historian, was commissioned to study French prices. The partial result of his work, in collaboration with various archivists, appeared in a fat volume, *Recherches et documents sur l'histoire des prix en France de 1500 à 1800*, three years after the Labrousse volumes.⁵ A comparison of these two works will throw light upon economic factors just before the Revolution and will also suggest more work to be done.

Let us examine the volumes of Labrousse first. From the period 1734 to 1817, which is the longest known period of rising prices, Labrousse selected 1734-89 for intensive study. This period lent itself admirably to price study in that it was a period of stable currency (from 1726 on). There were relatively few wars as compared with the latter part of the

⁵ The Labrousse volumes were published by Dalloz, Paris, 1933, and the Hauser volume by Les Presses Modernes, Paris, 1936.

longer period, and no drastic changes of political or economic organization were made. The source materials were relatively plentiful and reliable. A large part of the first volume analyzed the source materials used and manifests such care and thoroughness as to elicit only praise from such eminent historians of the Revolution as Lefebvre, the late Henri Sée, Georges Bourgin, and Prosper Boissonnade.⁶

Labrousse studied the movement of long duration and, in addition, cyclical and seasonal fluctuation of prices. The nature of the source materials made possible a more thorough analysis of the price movements of wheat and other cereals than of other food products, but Labrousse also studied prices of vegetables, wine, meat, and fodder. The first part of the second volume concerns textiles (woolen, linen, hemp), fats, wood, and iron. Labrousse was not content, however, with a mere presentation of figures, medians, and weighted indexes. He has drawn many significant conclusions from his statistics.

It may be helpful at this point to mention some of the basic findings of Labrousse. In the first place, the graph of the rise of all prices showed a moderate rise between 1734 and 1758, a sharp rise to 1770, little change for a few years, and a sharp rise from 1785 to 1789. On the basis of twenty-four products studied (fourteen foods, ten other products), the rise between 1771 and 1789 over the base years of 1726-41 was 53.7 per cent,⁷ and between 1785 and 1789 it was 63.7 per cent.

The degree of rise in prices varied among the products studied. Oats rose most among the grains, fodder more than oats, and firewood showed the greatest rise of all. Wine, although having the greatest annual fluctuations, rose very moderately, while textiles actually lowered in price after 1786, a fact of interest for the effect upon France of the Eden Treaty of that year.

Four cycles of uneven length were distinguished, 1726-41, 1742-56, 1757-70, and 1771-89, with the maximum prices increasing more than the rise of long duration. Labrousse noted, for example, a 127 per cent cyclic rise of wheat prices in 1789 over against a 66 per cent rise of long duration.⁸

⁶ See reviews: Lefebvre in an article which appeared with slight variations in two places: *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, XIV (1937), 289 ff., and in *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, IX (1937), 139 ff.; Sée in the preface of Volume I; Bourgin in *Revue d'économie politique*, XLVIII (May-June, 1934), 1053; and Boissonnade in *Revue des questions historiques*, CXXII (Jan., 1935), 123.

⁷ The percentage given appeared in at least two places, Labrousse, II, 357 and 443, but it appeared as 54.1 per cent on p. 362.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 165, 166.

Seasonal changes modified slightly the price fluctuation in good years but made enormous differences in bad harvests. The rise between autumn and summer prices was from 50 to 100 per cent. Labrousse noted the summer price of wheat in 1789 as 150 per cent higher than in the base years of 1726-41, with rye, buckwheat, and corn even higher.⁹ Thus, the cyclical and seasonal fluctuations, moving in the same direction as the rise of long duration, aggravated that rise and increased the insecurity of marginal living. Labrousse pointed out that France could not in the eighteenth century balance scarcity within the country by increased import, as would be true in the twentieth century.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion of Labrousse has to do with the effect of price rises upon French society. He showed that the cheaper cereals, which played a larger part in the diet of the poorer classes than did wheat, rose most in price, while the earnings of the poor did not make similar advances. The second part of Volume II was devoted to an analysis of income from land, and of wages. Although the sources available were very limited as compared with data for median prices of commodities, his findings and conclusions were, nevertheless, challenging.¹⁰ Between 1785 and 1789 he observed an average rise of 22 per cent in the wages of the crafts investigated, over against a 62 per cent rise in the price of necessities.¹¹ This rise left out of consideration the problem of individual unemployment in relation to annual earnings, to which Labrousse also devoted attention.¹² By a comparison of price rises and wages Labrousse attempted to distinguish between nominal and real wages, and he calculated a decrease of 25 per cent for real wages from 1785 to 1789 as compared with the base years and, with seasonal and cyclic variations, more than 59 per cent decrease.

While this assertion would tend to indicate that the craft worker suffered drastically on the eve of the Revolution, the analysis of income from land led to similar conclusions relative to the peasant. The complexity of land tenure under the Old Regime made exceedingly difficult and tentative any finding upon revenues derived from the land, but Labrousse, pointing out likenesses and differences, analyzed many

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 237-42.

¹⁰ Labrousse based his analysis of income from land upon figures for seventy-four large domains, given by Zolla in 1892. The rise in wages resulted from sixty-one series of wage scales in certain specific industries for eleven *généralités*.

¹¹ The rise in wages varied from 11 per cent to 29 per cent. Labrousse estimated that 50 per cent of a man's earnings would be spent for bread, 16 per cent for vegetables, wines, and fats, 5 per cent for heat, and 1 per cent for light. A comparison of the prices of these items for the base period 1726-41 with 1785-89 gave him the 62 per cent rise. See Labrousse, II, 490 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Book VIII, chap. IV.

types.¹³ He asserted that income from land rose 82 per cent from 1770 to 1790, as compared with 1730-39 as base, and 98 per cent from 1789 to 1790, but that it was chiefly the feudal¹⁴ proprietor who benefited from the rise.¹⁵ An adjustment of rent with the renewal of leases, which usually extended from six to nine years, would not help the peasant, for both prices and rents increased between 1785 and 1789. The peasant was a purchaser, not a seller.

Labrousse concluded that bad harvest years did not necessarily fall heavily upon the landowner, since he could hold the agricultural surpluses for the seasonal high price with correspondingly greater profit, whereas the peasants, and especially the two thirds to three fourths who were *métayers* or sharecroppers, suffered increasingly in bad years. The decreased production of the poor harvest could scarcely be made to cover payments to the lord, seeding for the next year, and family food needs. There would be no excess for sale and frequent undernourishment if not starvation.

The landless agricultural worker and the urban worker were worse off on the eve of the Revolution than the peasant with some land. In this connection, it would be well to remember the work of Sée and of Lefebvre, both of whom pointed to the effect of increased population and the inheritance laws upon the subdivision of holdings, such that many peasants controlled too little land for a livelihood.¹⁶ Labrousse found that more land was put under cultivation just before 1789, but such marginal land would have been less fertile and would require proportionately more seeds and labor, which could hardly mean a surplus for the peasant. The findings of Labrousse confirmed the contention of Louchitsky that the peasant was badly off on the eve of the Revolution and refute any arguments drawn from increase of population as evidence of prosperity, or from comparison with the status of peasantry in England or the rest of Europe.¹⁷

¹³ For example, Labrousse not only took up the question of revenue from land of a landowner not working the land himself, derived either from payments in money, or from payments in kind, but also from the point of view of the farmer, whether buyer or seller of agricultural products, and as *métayer*. Labrousse reasoned very closely from limited data. His logic is unimpeachable.

¹⁴ Although Labrousse, like most French historians, used the word *féodal*, English usage would dictate the use of *seigniorial* or *manorial*.

¹⁵ Labrousse, II, 399 and 444.

¹⁶ Sée, in *Economic and Social Conditions in France* (New York, 1935), *passim*, and Lefebvre, "Les paysans", in *Cahiers de la Révolution française*, No. 1 (1934), p. 16.

¹⁷ Ivan Louchitsky or Luchitzki, *L'état des classes agricoles en France à la veille de la Révolution* (Paris, 1911), pp. 247-49; also by the same author, *La propriété paysanne en France à la veille de la Révolution* (Paris, 1912), pp. 107-108.

The work of Labrousse supported the view that the complaints in the rural cahiers of 1789 were not exaggerated, as often contended, but were in many cases actually understatements of the hardships being suffered. It also explained their demand for land and their opposition to enclosures and to partition of the common lands. As Lefebvre has pointed out, Labrousse helped explain the co-operation of peasant and bourgeois against the privileged classes early in 1789 and the divergence of the peasant from the bourgeoisie when the latter became the chief beneficiaries of the sale of nationalized lands.¹⁸

Not only does the work of Labrousse help explain the difficulties of abolishing seigniorial privileges and the failure of the revolutionaries to unite upon measures of agrarian reform, but his conclusions are interesting in the light of Lefebvre's study of the *Ventôse* decrees.¹⁹ Whereas the bourgeois leaders of the Convention bespoke economic liberalism and capitalism, the Robespierrists made the tardy and unenforced gesture of the *Ventôse* decrees to meet the demand of the landless peasant for land. Peasant proprietors benefited from the revolutionary changes more than the landless poor.

The spectacular rise of prices on the eve of the Revolution and the rise in land revenues, together with a lagging rise in nominal wages, so forcefully set forth by Labrousse, lend added weight to the argument that conditions of the lower classes were a most powerful factor contributing to the Revolution. These facts also suggest a supplementary chapter to the volume by Daniel Mornet on *Les origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française*, published in the same year as the Labrousse volumes. Mornet terminated his analysis with 1787. He distinguished a third period, 1771-87, in the intellectual development of the eighteenth century, which coincided with the fourth cycle of price rises according to Labrousse. Although Mornet characterized this sixteen-year period by the widespread diffusion of the ideas of the great philosophers among the educated, by a growth of dissatisfaction with the existing government and conditions, and by the appearance of academies and societies as centers of discussion, he denied anything essentially revolutionary in the intellectual "climate of opinion" prior to 1787.²⁰

The work of Labrousse threw some light upon the transformation from reform to revolutionary action during the three years 1787-89.

¹⁸ See articles cited in n. 6.

¹⁹ *Questions agraires au temps de la Terreur* (Strasbourg, 1932).

²⁰ Daniel Mornet, *Les origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1933), chaps. XI, XII, and conclusion, and especially pp. 449-50. Mornet did include a chapter on the cahiers of 1789.

While the intelligentsia, already indoctrinated with the ideas of the philosophers in the academies and societies, were investigating local economic and social conditions, it was the uneducated poor who felt most keenly the sharp rise of prices from 1785 to 1789. Ideas may spread by word of mouth,²¹ and the parish cahiers of 1789 attest the diffusion of ideas to persons close to the peasantry if not always to the illiterate themselves. It was no mere coincidence that the highest point in the rise of long duration, of cyclical and of seasonal price, should have come on July 14, 1789. Men may not live by bread alone, neither can they live without it.

Hauser, in his volume which appeared three years after the work of Labrousse, did not disprove the material and specific conclusions of the latter but threw doubt upon its sources and methods and hence upon the validity of all conclusions. Whereas Labrousse made use of median prices compiled by the controller general from statistics sent in by the intendants of each *généralité* and checked these with other sources, Hauser cast doubt upon the utility of mean prices as indicative of anything but a very general movement of long duration which has been universally conceded.²² Hauser also emphasized the diversity of France under the Old Regime and denied the value of such an attempt as that of Labrousse to picture prices for France as a whole. He mentioned the probability of confusion between wholesale and retail prices, which had been well considered by Labrousse,²³ and denied the validity of an attempt to distinguish nominal and real wages and hence to estimate the standard of living and costs. The long introduction to the Hauser volume was a thorough analysis of the pitfalls and limitations of any study of prices in France under the Old Regime.

Hauser undertook the assemblage of price data from various districts of France from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century. The voluminous materials so assembled have been deposited at the National Archives in Paris, and only a part of the findings has been published in the volume cited. Hauser attempted no synthesis of his findings, for the published material comprised only eight districts, which were: Paris, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Rennes, the Dauphiné, one district in Tarn-et-Garonne, and colonial products at Nantes. With the map of

²¹ Lefebvre noted this omission in his review, *An. Hist. Rév. Fr.*, XI (1934), 366-72.

²² Aside from the explanation of the sources used in Labrousse, Vol. I, see also an article on this subject by Labrousse, in answer to Hauser, *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire moderne*, 35^e année, 8^e série, no. 17 (1937), pp. 234-35. The records used by Labrousse were the *mercuriales*.

²³ Labrousse, II, 359-60.

France in mind, you will see what large gaps remain. Although there were numerous statistics for Paris, for some of the districts west of it, and for the Dauphiné, even these were fragmentary, as they did not represent identical periods of time or identical products.²⁴ As in the Labrousse volumes, there were more statistics for wheat and grains than for any other product.

Since Hauser was not limiting his research to a period of stable currency, he gave his figures in terms of one uniform standard of measure and quoted in each case the equivalent of the current price in silver grains, according to a table constructed by Sée.²⁵ Hauser also gave ten-year median prices, a procedure which Labrousse considered useless as compared with cyclical periods of uneven length.²⁶ Insofar as comparison is possible, Hauser substantiated the general rise of prices noted by Labrousse, with, of course, local variations. Hauser's volume pointed the way for the publication of many price studies based upon single districts of France.

Pursuant to criticisms from Hauser, Labrousse undertook a study of the rise in wheat prices by *généralités*, which appeared in the *Annales d'histoire sociale*, October, 1939, pages 382 ff. He aimed to discover the length of period between the maximum of 1789 for wheat and the next earlier maximum, and the degree of rise, in other words, the acuteness of the crisis. The period varied from three to seven years. The greatest rise occurred in eight *généralités* north and east of Paris, including the capital, where the advance in price in 1789 over 1786 was 100 per cent. The most marked rise occurred in Champagne, Lorraine, Metz, and Alsace. It is not necessary to repeat here further detail from Labrousse but merely to hope that both he and Hauser, as well as any other students of prices in France, will borrow from the technique of Robert Schnerb, who will be mentioned shortly, and give not only statistical tables and graphs but also maps of charted material. Nothing demonstrates more quickly the diversity of France under the Old Regime than a map showing local variations. The article on wheat by Labrousse would have gained greatly in clarity by the presentation of a map to illustrate the main conclusions.

²⁴ For example, for the district of Paris tables were given for wheat, oats, barley, rye, peas, beans, lentils, rice, bread, butter, eggs, sugar, tallow candles, wax candles, soap, firewood, charcoal, lead, soldering, plaster. Some of these series extended from 1501 to 1790, others for only portions of the period. On the other hand, for Saint-Antonin, in Tarn-et-Garonne, only meat, tallow candles, and wages were given for a part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

²⁵ The table was reproduced in Hauser, pp. 21-24.

²⁶ See the article cited in n. 22.

If the rich archival material drawn upon by Hauser and Labrousse survives the present, their work is only a beginning. Before many future studies of prices are undertaken, agreement should be reached by the International Scientific Committee²⁷ upon various debatable points, so that future volumes will present a uniform character capable of comparison between countries and periods. All volumes should use the calendar year and not the harvest year. For the history of prices in France, correction of Sée's table for the conversion of money into bullion weights, used by Hauser and adversely criticized by Marc Bloch,²⁸ should be undertaken. Furthermore, there must be co-operation between economist, statistician, and historian and ready acceptance of advances in method contributed by any of the three branches of learning.²⁹ The instructions issued by the International Committee should be more specific.

As regards the history of prices and the French Revolution, there are four distinct ways in which the work of Labrousse and Hauser should be continued and supplemented. As already suggested, specific regional studies of as complete a number of items as possible should be made to supply areas missing from Hauser. Secondly, the price of one particular article for all provinces of France, on the model of the Labrousse article on wheat, would be illuminating. Such articles as meat, salt, and especially bread should be studied. The rich field which the study of the price of bread affords is foreshadowed by the short article on the Parisian bread supply written by Léon Cahen for the first issue of the *Cahiers de la Révolution française*.³⁰ Labrousse barely scratched the surface of the intricate subject of income from land and wages, for which much needs to be done. Thirdly, a history of money with correction of Sée's tables is necessary. Lastly, the entire subject of prices and wages during the decade of the Revolution itself is virginal ground. Inflation by the assignats has hitherto negated the figures of prices as compared with those on the eve of the Revolution, but the technique of the study of prices that has already been achieved opens up great possibilities for new light upon the years 1789-99.

²⁷ It may be necessary to appoint an entirely new committee, for several members were quite elderly. Loss of experience and of the technique developed already may result in indefinite postponement of further price studies.

²⁸ "L'histoire des prix", in *Annales d'histoire sociale*, I (Apr., 1939), 141.

²⁹ In the United States the formation of the new Economic History Association, with its publication of the *Economic History Journal*, should facilitate such co-operation.

³⁰ "La question du pain à Paris à la fin du xviii^e siècle", in *Cahiers de la Révolution française*, No. 1. M. Cahen has been working on a complete study of Parisian food supplies for the eighteenth century and the Revolution. See below on the publication of the *Cahiers*.

Another French scholar who has contributed to a new understanding of financial factors leading to the Revolution is F. Braesch. By his series of studies bearing upon budgets and accounts in 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791 and upon the stabilization of currency by the franc of germinal, 1803, he has filled gaps left by the work of Gomel, Stourm, and Marion.³¹ Whereas the earlier studies of finances had relied on the debates of the Revolutionary assemblies and minutes of the committees, Braesch has utilized accountings and other statistical material, assembled after great search, for the papers of the Ministry of Finance were destroyed by fire in 1870. Here, as with the history of prices, the economist and statistician have aided the historian. His tables afford much illuminating material.

Although the nature of the source materials led Braesch to study the Revolutionary finances first and then those of the Old Regime, certain significant points will be brought out chronologically. First, let us look at some of the findings for 1788. The *Compte rendu au roi* in March, 1788, comprised only a budget for the Treasury, which handled only about half of French finances. Aside from the actual figures, Braesch emphasized the value of this account for the light it throws upon the Old Regime, with its lack of system, and upon the large part played by privilege and the division of finances into ordinary and extraordinary, thereby partially disguising the very critical condition of French finances. Three eighths of the budget came under the classification of extraordinary expenses.³² The existence of many agencies for the collection of taxes prevented full revenues from reaching the Treasury. That three fourths of the collections from *pays d'états* remained in the provinces indicated the degree of decentralization for those privileged areas. The survivals of feudalism, and the beginning of financial reform and simplification undertaken in 1788, may be discerned in this budget.

The ordinary deficit was 20 per cent. The economies suggested would not cover this large proportion, but it is significant, in view of the popular conception of Marie Antoinette, that larger economies for the queen's household were contemplated than for the king.³³ The

³¹ The volumes so far published are: Volume I, containing *Les exercices budgétaires, 1790 et 1791*, appearing in 1934, and Volume II, *Les recettes et les dépenses du trésor pendant l'année 1789; Le compte rendu au roi, mars, 1788; Le dernier budget de l'ancien régime*, appearing in 1936. Fascicule or Volume V appeared before III and IV and contained *La livre tournois et le franc de germinal*, published in 1936. Other topics are in preparation.

³² Braesch, II, 116.

³³ See *ibid.*, p. 183 and note.

discussion of this budget speeded the meeting of the States-General.

Braesch did not stop with the budget of the Treasury for 1788 but reconstructed the entire budget of the state, which included also the accounts of fifteen other financial agencies, a task that was a conscious supplement to the work of Marion.³⁴ In composing these tables no distinction was made between ordinary and extraordinary expenses. Braesch condemns that procedure for both the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries as deceptive and destructive. In the reconstructed budget for 1788 one half of expenses were for administration, which was a very high proportion, with court expenses a very large item. Braesch attributed the slight increase for defense to be due to fear of a maritime war. The insignificant expenses for education, social welfare, and public works are in marked contrast to the twentieth century.

Braesch affirmed a careful collection of taxes, but whereas the *pays d'états* paid one fifth as much to the state, they received almost as much as the *pays d'élections*. Taxes supplied 61.71 per cent of the revenue, with a fair balance between indirect and direct taxes. Braesch considered this especially surprising in view of the widespread denunciation of indirect taxation in the pamphlets on the eve of the Revolution and in the cahiers.³⁵

The deficit was slightly greater than for the Treasury alone. Economies were negligible, and hence the effort to balance the budget was by loans. Braesch pointed out that there was no attempt to increase revenues by added taxation and significantly asserted that the budget could have been balanced without new taxes by a reapportionment of existing taxes upon all classes.³⁶ While the States-General was summoned primarily to balance the budget, everyone knows how the first two months were a political duel between the third estate and the privileged orders, and then the National Assembly proceeded to revise the constitution of France, which the majority of cahiers had considered more important than finances.

Whereas these two preceding studies covered budgets, Braesch was able to establish the actual receipts and expenditures for 1789, 1790, and 1791. The basis for his estimates for 1789 was the *Compte général des recettes et dépenses de l'état* made by Necker to the National Assembly

³⁴ The analysis of *Le dernier budget de l'ancien régime* covered Braesch, II, pp. 189-247. See also Marcel Marion, *Histoire financière de la France depuis 1715* (6 vols., Paris, 1914-28), especially Vol. I.

³⁵ See Edme Champion, *La France d'après les cahiers de 1789* (Paris, 1921), chap. VIII.

³⁶ Braesch, II, 247.

on July 21, 1790.³⁷ Braesch not only refuted the accusations against Necker relative to this account but approved of Necker's temporizing method of dealing with the deficit rather than the inflation and drastic liquidation of the Old Regime following his downfall. This particular account given by Necker is of special source value because it is the only one that gives full, separate details for the extraordinary agencies which handled 41.17 per cent of the finances of the state and which were to be united during the Revolution into one national fiscal agency.

Among the significant characteristics of finances in 1789 brought out by Braesch was the consumption in 1788 by anticipation of receipts from the *taille*, *capitation*, and the *vingtième*. Only 14 per cent of receipts in 1789 were from taxes, which bears out the statement above that the National Assembly undertook political revolution first; payment of taxes was in default. There was, however, only a small deficit for 1789, because certain expenses had ceased and new expenses had not yet been added in large measure, but more especially because the first extraordinary loans based on church lands and patriotic contributions swelled the receipts.³⁸

In 1790 and 1791 liquidation of the Old Regime naturally increased expenditure. As compared with 1788, revenues had decreased and expenses immeasurably increased. By 1791 one can see the beginning of the new tax system. Braesch did not condemn the National Assembly outright but considered the issuance of assignats a great error. His tables and discussion should be compared closely with the volume by S. E. Harris, *The Assignats* (1930), who did not condemn the first issue but rather the later unrestricted resort to paper money. Close study of the accounts for 1790 and 1791 and the volume by Braesch, *La livre tournois et le franc du germinal*, give much needed new material for the history of French money. Several monographic studies that appeared in France will also be of assistance for a synthesis.³⁹

In discussing the work of Labrousse the name of Robert Schnerb was mentioned. His work throws light upon taxation at the end of the

³⁷ The analysis for 1789 covered pp. 7-54 of the second volume. The account as reconstructed for 1789 by Braesch began with the opening of the States-General in May, 1789, and hence was an account for the first nine months of the Revolution. It was necessary to take out the months for 1790 reported by Necker.

³⁸ Braesch gave the deficit as only 4.6 per cent as against 58.1 per cent for 1790, and this was covered by advances by the *caisse d'escompte*. Braesch, II, 52.

³⁹ Georges Hubrecht, *Les assignats dans le Haut-Rhin* (Strasbourg, 1932); Paul Harsin, *Le crédit public et la banque d'état en France du xvi^e au xviii^e siècle* (Paris, 1933); J. Auréjac, "Les emprunts sous la Révolution", in *Cahiers de la Révolution française*, No. 7.

Old Regime and the application of the principle of equality to the tax reforms of the early Revolution. His doctoral thesis on taxation in the department of Puy-de-Dôme gave him excellent preparation for the study of the whole of France—the method pursued by Lefebvre.⁴⁰ The compact volume entitled *La péréquation fiscale de l'Assemblée Constituante* was one of the last volumes to appear in the official series of *Documents inédits*.⁴¹ It is a model of synthesis.

Every student of the French Revolution knows that the cahiers of the third estate of 1789 demanded the abolition of tax privileges and substitution of a simple, uniform system based upon the ability of the individual to pay—in other words, taxation based upon equality of persons rather than upon class or provincial privileges. Schnerb undertook to discover how far this ideal was achieved in the early Revolution with special reference to proportionality between departments. He concluded that the National Assembly failed because of the principles inherent in the new taxation and because of exigencies in the execution of the new laws, upon which Braesch also threw light.

In its attempt at simplification and proportionality the National Assembly established two taxes—*la contribution foncière*, or land tax, and *la contribution mobilière*, or personal property tax. Schnerb concluded that greater proportionality between departments would have been achieved had the National Assembly adopted the total of all direct taxes of the Old Regime as the basis of the new land tax, with occasional rectification by consideration of indirect taxes. Lefebvre believes that Schnerb overestimated the revenues and would have had the National Assembly take the *vingtième* alone as the base.⁴² The new land tax was based upon a combination of the direct taxes plus selected indirect taxes of the Old Regime. According to Schnerb, only seventeen departments received adjustment of the land tax toward the median rate, while he found that forty-seven departments paid increased taxes under the new regime.⁴³

The personal property tax turned out to be a supplement to the real-estate tax instead of falling upon those who paid lightly toward the land tax. This second tax negated some of the proportionality of the land tax, which accounted for its unpopularity and its early replacement.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Schnerb's thesis was entitled *Les contributions directes à l'époque de la Révolution dans le Puy-de-Dôme* (Paris, 1933).

⁴¹ See below for discussion of collections and sources.

⁴² *An. Hist. Rév. Fr.*, XIV, 276 ff.

⁴³ Schnerb, *La péréquation fiscale*, pp. 42, 45, 47, 50.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. v.

The method of assessing quotas for the successive subdivisions of the departments aimed to remedy bad features of the old system of tax collection, but Schnerb considered the new elective boards inefficient and undesirable.⁴⁵ Shortness of time created by the urgency of the national deficit and by popular demand for reform, lack of accurate records on the old taxes which were to serve as the basis of the new ones, and lack of specific instructions from the National Assembly led these local boards to compromise and hence to continue the inequalities of the Old Regime. The very decentralization of the new departmental regime handicapped any valid attempt at uniformity and equal liability to taxation. Both Braesch and Schnerb would agree that the National Assembly aimed high but that its financial achievements were mediocre.

It is not only the specific conclusions of Schnerb's volume that are significant, but perhaps even more his technique of presenting the intricate statistical information that formed the basis of his conclusions. Dr. Henry E. Bourne emphasized this feature in his review of the volume.⁴⁶ Schnerb presented a series of fourteen maps illustrating the divergence above and below the median for each tax or group of taxes of 1790, which he considered to be the last collections under the Old Regime, and for the new taxes of 1791. He also gave a map indicating revenues by departments according to 1821, which Schnerb deemed similar to the distribution at the end of the Old Regime but which choice Lefebvre challenged.⁴⁷ The hatching of the departmental divisions was an intricate task and demonstrates admirably the diversity even among neighboring districts.

In his review of Labrousse's volumes Lefebvre made an interesting correlation between the history of prices and problems of taxation.⁴⁸ He contended that Labrousse's analysis of the opposing interest of the landowner and the peasant in lean years cast new light upon the dilemma of the royal finances on the eve of the Revolution. Royal revenues should have increased to meet increased expenditures resulting from a rise in prices, but because of the privileges of exemption the tax rate for those actually bearing the tax burden increased in proportion as their purchasing power decreased. Lefebvre asserted that the deficit could not be made up by indirect taxes, which is of interest in view of Braesch's findings about the proportion of direct and indirect taxes. Lefebvre believed that the antagonism between landowner and peasant explained the popular hatred of indirect taxes in the cahiers and

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. iv. ⁴⁶ Bourne, in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII (July, 1937), 827.

⁴⁷ Review by Lefebvre in *An. Hist. Rév. Fr.*, XIV, 279. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

their suppression by the National Assembly to meet this opposition.

When enough regional studies of prices have been made, it will be interesting to correlate them with the maps of Schnerb. Future possibilities along this line may be suggested by the following correlation of the price of wheat, unemployment, heavy taxation, and public complaint. The price of wheat was unduly high in the neighborhood of Paris on the eve of the Revolution. Paris was suffering industrial unemployment at this time, and conditions were aggravated by the movement of unemployed from other districts to the capital.⁴⁹ Schnerb showed the Parisian area as surcharged by taxation under the Old Regime, while the tone of the general cahiers from these districts was radical or progressive.⁵⁰ It is a truism that ideas for change take hold where dissatisfaction and hardship are rife. Were such a correlation proven for the overwhelming majority of districts in France, would that not be conclusive proof that the crushing economic conditions among the lower classes were not only the source of increasing complaints but that reform ideas of the philosophers spread with more revolutionary effect where the hardship was greatest? This also would supplement the work of Mornet.

In addition to the new orientation of economics and the French Revolution, the last ten years have seen the rise of a new political interpretation also. The Faculty of Law of the University of Paris has turned out a school of thought defending a corporative theory of the Old Regime, as contrasted with earlier interpretations of absolute monarchy or benevolent despotism. Some of this group, like Gaetan Pirou, have been interested in the corporate state primarily in the twentieth century, and it remains to be seen whether there was a conscious effort by members of this school to bring about a corporative transformation of the Third French Republic, which adhered to the principles of the Revolution.

The best representative of this school in relation to the French Revolution was François Olivier-Martin, whose manual of French law foreshadowed his historical volume, *L'organisation corporative de l'ancien régime*, which appeared in 1938. The accepted interpretation of the Old Regime had been to consider France an absolutism in theory and in practice from the time of Louis XIV on, with declining ef-

⁴⁹ See Charles Schmidt, "La crise industrielle de 1788 en France", *Rev. Hist.*, XCVII (Jan.-Apr., 1908), 79 ff.

⁵⁰ See Schnerb, *La péréquation fiscale*, p. 41. The general cahiers of the third estate of Paris and Chartres were radical, those of Melun, Châlons, and Reims progressive. See Beatrice F. Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789* (New York, 1934), pp. 208 ff.

iciency during the neglect of the state by Louis XV and with increasing confusion following the brief experiment of benevolent despotism under Turgot. On the other hand, Olivier-Martin and his school of thought arrived at a corporative interpretation of the old monarchy. By his searching examination of the meaning and evolution of guilds and corporate groups of various kinds, Olivier-Martin made a good case for the conclusion that the power of the king was checked by the corporative privileges of the diverse bodies that made up the French state. The king maintained the balance among these various groups and was not a despot with absolute power. This newer emphasis was well shown in the exposition of the government prior to the Revolution by Walter L. Dorn in his volume, *Competition for Empire*, in the Langer series (1940).

Olivier-Martin hinted in a few lines of his closing chapter that this intricate corporative system, with its multitude of checks and balances, had sometimes served the interest of the individual and the French nation collectively better than the individualist regime substituted by the Revolution. He held that the corporate groups fell not so much by reason of their economic inefficiency as by reason of their incompatibility with the new Revolutionary regime, in which there was no intermediary between the individual and the state. The exoneration of the financial status of the guilds by René Nigeon helped support this contention, while the intensive study of the corporative regime at Blois by Henri Rolland, a thesis prepared under the guidance of Olivier-Martin, also rehabilitated the gild regime.⁵¹ While Olivier-Martin devoted most of his volume to the earlier history of guilds, the implications for the corporative interpretation of the Old Regime were constantly present. His analysis of the nature and history of commercial and craft guilds is a valuable complement to the history of French guilds written earlier by E. Martin St. Léon.⁵²

It is quite conceivable that future work upon the guilds and other corporate groupings in the period 1776-89 might necessitate qualification of the corporative thesis. Just what was the legal status and economic position of the guilds after their suppression by Turgot and their subsequent reconstitution? Did they actually operate as a check upon the monarchy during that period, or were they not rather in process of dissolution, with corporate privileges a shadow rather than an actuality?

⁵¹ René Nigeon, *L'état financier des corporations parisiennes d'arts et métiers au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1934), and H. Rolland, *L'organisation corporative à la veille de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1938).

⁵² *Histoire des corporations de métiers* (Paris, 1897).

The study by B. Wybo of the *conseil de commerce*, while brief for the period after 1750, would substantiate a transformation of the corporate status and functions of that body and hence a change in its role in the French government.⁵³

The thorough analysis of events of 1787 and 1788 made by Dr. Mitchell B. Garrett in *The Estates General of 1789* (1935) and more recently summarized in his general textbook, *European History, 1500-1815* (1940), emphasized the royal policy of *divide et impera*. The unintentional result of playing off one group against another was the emergence by May, 1789, of a united third estate, but the appeal by the privileged orders and bodies to their privileges led to the use of arbitrary power by the king. Far from presenting a smooth working balance in the government, this period would seem to have produced a deadlock, with the obstructionist elements of all corporative groups combining against the king rather than relying upon their separate corporate privileges. In this same period were not the former privileges of the *pays d'états* undergoing transformation? A reappraisal of the role of the parlements and of venality of judgeships for this period might be helpful.⁵⁴ While Labrousse added to the economic interpretation of 1787-89, the narrative presented by Dr. Garrett threw light upon the political events which helped transform the philosophical thought of 1787, described by Mornet, into revolutionary political action in 1789.

For the eighteenth century through 1763, covered by the Dorn volume, the corporative theory is defensible, but the period just prior to the Revolution needs more monographic studies before that interpretation is convincing for the eve of the Revolution and also for its implications for the Revolution itself. E. Coornaert was working on this very theme when the war broke out.⁵⁵

Olivier-Martin pointed out that the influence of guilds on the development of common law in France has not been adequately investi-

⁵³ B. Wybo, *Le conseil de commerce et le commerce intérieur de la France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1936).

⁵⁴ While the study of *The Physiocratic Doctrine of Judicial Control*, by Mario Einaudi (Cambridge, 1938), analyzed this little-noted phase of the French school of economists, he granted the decreased effectiveness of the parlements in their efforts to obstruct royal edicts. See especially pp. 51 and 90.

⁵⁵ Coornaert reviewed the volume of Olivier-Martin in *Rev. Éc. Pol.*, LIII (Mar.-Apr., 1939), 1451. See also his article, "Qu'est-ce qu'une corporation", in *L'organisation corporative du moyen âge à la fin de l'ancien régime: Études présentées à la Commission internationale pour l'histoire des assemblées d'états*, Vol. III (Louvain, 1939, Recueil de travaux, Université de Louvain, 2^e série, fasc. 50). There appeared to be quite a group at Louvain adhering to the corporative interpretation. A volume on this period is being prepared by Dr. Leo Gershoy for the Langer series.

gated and should prove a fruitful field for those with legal training. The corporative interpretation throws new light upon the relation of public law to the state and to the movement for a written constitution. There is need of a constitutional history of France comparable to the work of Stubbs, Adams, White, and Schuyler for the English constitution.⁵⁶

The corporative theory also has implications for the study of French nationalism versus *esprit de corps* and regionalism. Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, the foremost historian of nationalism, assigned a major role to the French Revolution both in the appearance of a self-conscious nationalism in France and in the development of nationalism elsewhere in Europe, either as a reaction against the Revolution or as an imitation of French nationalism.⁵⁷

My analysis of the general cahiers written on the eve of the Revolution led to the conclusion that the elements of a self-conscious nationalism were present in some groups of all three classes of French society and in various regions but that only a small minority showed conscious fusion of these elements.⁵⁸ The domination by this group during a period of the Revolution and the exigencies of foreign war were prime factors in the emergence of the fully developed French nationalism in the nineteenth century. Robert R. Palmer in a recent article, "The National Idea in France before the Revolution",⁵⁹ would, however, assert the appearance of two forms of self-conscious nationalism prior to the Revolution. The first corresponded with patriotic opposition to despotism, and the second derived from Rousseau, with an idealization of the national state. It will, however, be desirable to study further the nature and operation of regionalism or provincialism under the Old Regime, the appearance of national ideas within specific classes of society before the Revolution, and to reappraise the role of the monarch in eighteenth century France before historians will accept the thesis of Dr. Palmer that self-conscious nationalism antedates the Revolution.

Biographies of Sieyes and Robespierre by two students of Professor Hayes have emphasized the influence of these two leaders upon the

⁵⁶ Lester B. Mason, "The Concept of the French Constitution of the Old Regime from Louis XIV to the French Revolution" (unpublished thesis, Cornell University). See Henry B. Hill in the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Universities in the United States and the Dominion of Canada*, issued by the American Historical Association, April, 1940.

⁵⁷ *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York, 1931), chaps. II and III. ⁵⁸ Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789*, *passim*, but especially chap. VII.

⁵⁹ *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I (Jan., 1940), 95-111.

development of nationalist ideas and technique.⁶⁰ Other leaders, such as Barère, the Abbé Grégoire, and Carnot, should throw light upon certain nationalist factors developing during the Revolution. Aside from political and economic factors, the appearance of nationalist elements in art, literature, and music during the Revolution can be further investigated.⁶¹

It is perhaps French nationalism that has prompted recent studies of French colonial history by French historians.⁶² Lémery and Gaston-Martin, two of the French authors, assigned selfish motives to England's advocacy of abolition of the slave trade rather than outright abolition of slavery and asserted that the results of this policy were detrimental to French colonial economy. Herbert Ingram Priestley did not touch that point in his two volumes.⁶³ Interest in the influence of the French Revolution on other countries, notably on South America, may also be a feature of the French nationalism that traced its origin to the French Revolution.⁶⁴

The reader may have observed that thus far attention has centered primarily upon works relative to the beginning or early phase of the French Revolution. Aside from these significant books dealing with the fall of the Old Regime, there have been recent important volumes dealing with that part of the radical phase of the Revolution commonly called the Terror. Taine and his followers saw in that year of the

⁶⁰ Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Sieyès: His Life and his Nationalism* (New York, 1932); James Michael Eagan, *Maximilien Robespierre: Nationalist Dictator* (New York, 1938). A recent biography of Carnot gave little on his nationalism (see n. 77 below).

⁶¹ The latest volume of *L'histoire de la langue française*, Vol. IX (Paris, Pt. 1, 1927, Pt. 2, 1937), by Ferdinand Brunot, dealt with French nationalism and culture during the French Revolution. An article by Philippe Sagnac, "La Révolution française et la morale", in *Revue d'histoire politique et constitutionnelle*, III (Jan.-Apr., 1939), 169-85, was illuminating. A number of the younger American historians are working on such themes. See the *List of Doctoral Dissertations* cited in n. 56 and the similar list published in 1941.

⁶² Among the French works on the colonies are: Blanche Maurel, in the official series, *Les cahiers de doléances de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1933); Gaston-Martin and Paul Roussier in *Cahiers de la Révolution française*, No. 3 (see below); Henri Lémery, *La Révolution française à la Martinique* (Paris, 1936). See also Carl L. Lokke, *France and the Colonial Question* (New York, 1932).

⁶³ The two volumes by Herbert I. Priestley were *France Overseas through the Old Regime* (New York, 1939) and *France Overseas: A Study of Modern Imperialism* (New York, 1938).

⁶⁴ See Hugo D. Barbagelata, "La Révolution française et l'Amérique latine", in *Cahiers de la Révolution française*, No. 5. American volumes dealing with the French Revolution and the Western Hemisphere are: William Spence Robertson, *France and Latin American Independence* (Baltimore, 1939), only in introductory material; R. Flenley, "The French Revolution and French Canada", in *Essays in Canadian History* (Toronto, 1939), pp. 45-67.

Revolution only bloodshed, destruction of the achievements of the early Revolution, and perversion of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity". To these historians the Terror was directed against the privileged classes of the old order. Aulard, whose researches were primarily in the political phases of the Revolution, explained the Terror as a necessary expedient to achieve victory in the foreign war, which was threatening the very existence of France. Mathiez introduced the economic note, with the violence prompted and promoted by the hunger and unemployment of the city and rural poor. Inherent in this interpretation was the Marxist idea of class war, with the proletariat forcing radical legislation and using violent measures to enforce laws opposed by the bourgeoisie. In his rehabilitation of the role of Robespierre in the radical Revolution, Mathiez also initiated the interpretation of the Terror as a temporary expedient to eliminate political opponents and all enemies of an ideal republic of virtue, which would be ushered in when opposition had been overcome.

Crane Brinton has introduced a psychological explanation of the Terror with the analogy of a disease. According to his theory, a period of domination by extremists is an inevitable part of a revolution, but this comes only when a combination of factors merge: a habit of violence, the pressure of foreign and civil war, new governmental machinery which does not run smoothly and whose extremist leaders have risen with less experience than their moderate predecessors, economic crisis, class struggle, the uncompromising drive of the leaders toward a particular goal, and finally, revolutionary religious fervor.⁶⁵ This diagnosis resulted from Brinton's study of four revolutions, the English Revolution of 1688, the American, the French, and the Russian Revolutions. Whether we accept his explanation or reject it in some part, it is obvious that he has linked together factors which former historians had isolated and has shown thereby that no one simple thesis will explain the Terror.

Several recent works dealing with the Terror illuminate some one or several of these factors and help to balance earlier explanations of the

⁶⁵ *The Anatomy of Revolution* (New York, 1938), pp. 236 ff. The analysis of the Terror by Pierre Trahard, *La sensibilité révolutionnaire, 1789-94*, published in Paris in 1936, drew some comparisons between the French and Russian Revolutions. He explained the Terror in terms of the *sensibilité* of the leaders before that period and the stress of mass reaction. Whereas the corporative theorists looked upon the Revolution as the triumph of an individualist political regime, Trahard concluded that the Revolution reached a point where the individual was forced to sacrifice himself for Revolutionary France.

Terror. Brinton himself in his earlier volume, *The Jacobins* (1930), proved by careful study of the membership of the Jacobin Clubs that the minority who promoted the drastic measures of 1793-94 were not the riffraff, the untutored masses, but men of small means, petty bourgeoisie—all taxpayers. Thus part of the thesis of Taine was disproved.

Inspired by this analysis of Brinton's, Donald Greer undertook to verify the number of victims of the Terror, to eliminate exaggerations of enemies of the Revolution, and at the same time to find out who the victims were.⁶⁶ The clarity, thoroughness, and technique of Greer's volume, *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution*, are irreproachable. The maps which he presented completed the statistics and the narrative and illustrated the effectiveness of Schnerb's method. The logic of his figures led Greer to conclude that the Terror was used for political purposes, "To crush rebellion, and to quell opposition to the Revolution, the Republic, or the Mountain",⁶⁷ and only very slightly to punish speculators or offenders against the economic measures of the Terror. According to his classification, more victims came from the working class than from the former privileged orders. Greer did not stop with the statistics, however, for he admitted the pressure brought to bear upon the leaders of the Terror by the hungry masses in fear of famine. In the last phase of the Terror which he designated, June-July, 1794, when Paris was the center of executions and the government was dominated by Robespierre and his followers, Greer pointed out the influence of the idealism of the leaders and their use of the Terror to eliminate all opposition in order to usher in their Utopia.⁶⁸

A similar conclusion, the use of the Terror for political purposes, has been reached by James L. Godfrey, in his thesis on the Revolutionary Tribunal.⁶⁹ Godfrey analyzed the Revolutionary Tribunal as one phase of the administrative machinery of the Terror, rather than as

⁶⁶ Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1935).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 124. It is possible that further discoveries in local French archives (if indeed they survive at all in some parts of France) would necessitate some revision of the statistics used. Also, the figures arrived at by James L. Godfrey (see below) differed somewhat from those of Greer, for the former used a source list overlooked by the latter. There may also be some reservation upon the validity of the classifications by Greer into upper middle class, lower middle class, and working class, pp. 154-60, in view of the former guild system and the relatively small degree of industrialization in France before the nineteenth century.

⁶⁸ See *ibid.*, concluding chapter, pp. 111-28.

⁶⁹ See the *List of Doctoral Dissertations* (n. 56 above), p. 18. Godfrey's thesis will eventually be published. The finished volume will be an indispensable aid in English for future studies of the Terror.

a judicial institution. Without the indispensable aid of the other administrative agencies, the Tribunal would "have died of anemia rather than from a surfeit of blood" (end of chapter v of the manuscript). In his final chapter, which should be compared closely with the work of Greer, Godfrey called attention to the fact, demonstrated throughout his narrative, that the Tribunal strove to maintain legal forms of justice, and that without the Tribunal the alternative was apt to be September massacres, the carnage of the Vendée, or mob violence. Godfrey praised the thoroughness of the preparation of the *acte d'accusation*, which decreased the number of false charges, and hence he discounted the summary nature of the trial itself and the denial of self-defense to the accused, especially after the Law of 22nd *Prairial*. It is, perhaps, with a slight irony that Godfrey ended his manuscript with the observation that the "Revolutionary Tribunal may yet emerge as the mildest of all such institutions that have performed this necessary function in any major revolutionary process".

Robert R. Palmer has recently published a very useful volume on the Committee of Public Safety during the year of the Terror.⁷⁰ While recognizing the force of the various factors described by Brinton, Palmer explained the resort to terrorist methods by the need of national unity.⁷¹ Danger from foreign invasion threatened primarily because France was disunited within and incapable of effective resistance as long as anarchy reigned. The leaders of the Terror aimed to establish a democracy and constantly justified their actions by reference to the welfare of the people, but stern measures against the enemies of the Revolution were necessary to make France "safe for democracy". As Palmer pointed out at the end of chapter xv, the moderate reforms of the early Revolution exerted more influence upon the spread of democracy in nineteenth century Europe than did the democratic ideals of the radical Revolution, but

Only in 1793 and 1794 was democracy, in the sense of universal suffrage and increased economic equality, part of the ideal of the men in power. Those years raised the most portentous of political questions: the relation between democracy in this sense and democracy in the other sense, the *democracy of individual liberties and representative government*.⁷²

Palmer here implied that two differing forms of democracy and the problem of harmonizing them in practice are the heritage of the French

⁷⁰ *Twelve Who Ruled: The Committee of Public Safety during the Terror* (Princeton, 1941). For a review of this volume see p. 589 below.

⁷¹ Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled*, especially pp. 56-57.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 386.

Revolution. It is the antidemocratic states who have revived terrorist methods today. The careful, detailed analysis of the action of the Committee of Public Safety given by Palmer is a welcome clarification of aims and measures often overshadowed by the violence of the methods.

The narrative in *Twelve Who Ruled* indicated that the Committee of Public Safety, in its relationship to the Convention, was unwittingly the forerunner of the nineteenth century cabinet system with parliamentary responsibility, but Palmer disclaimed a conscious development of such an agency of government and an influence from the French institution upon the development of cabinet government elsewhere in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as Mirkine-Guetzévitch has claimed.⁷³

The systematic bibliography for Palmer's book was not given in the volume itself but was published under the title, "Fifty Years of the Committee of Public Safety", in the *Journal of Modern History*, XIII (September, 1941), 375-97. This gave not only a thorough survey of works on the committee but also a great many titles on the general period of the radical Revolution. It is not necessary, therefore, to repeat here recent works cited by Palmer.

Any analysis of the Terror necessarily deals with the role of Maximilien Robespierre. More biographies of this one leader have appeared in the last ten years than of any other Revolutionary figure.⁷⁴ The two-volume biography by the eminent English historian of the French Revolution, J. M. Thompson, will probably remain the authoritative biography.⁷⁵ While Thompson leaned toward the favorable view of Robespierre held by Mathiez, he has thoroughly analyzed the evidence on both sides of all controversial points aroused by the Danton-Robespierre argument, and his conclusions, sometimes favorable to Robespierre and sometimes frankly critical, must be accepted unless new evidence can be found bearing upon specific judgments.⁷⁶ In the field of biography, there may also be cited the volume by E. N. Curtis on St.

⁷³ See his article, "Le gouvernement parlementaire sous la Convention", in *Cahiers de la Révolution française*, No. 6. B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch claimed that the parliamentary system spread from France rather than from England in the nineteenth century.

⁷⁴ See comments on various biographies of Robespierre in the article by Lefebvre (cited, n. 2 above), pp. 193-99; the bibliographical article by Palmer, *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, XIII, 382-84; and my book note on Ralph Korngold's *Robespierre and the Fourth Estate*, in *Political Science Quarterly*, LVI (Dec., 1941), 636-37.

⁷⁵ Oxford, 1935.

⁷⁶ The most recent work, Korngold's *Robespierre and the Fourth Estate* (New York, 1941), did not, unfortunately, bring new evidence in support of various points contrary to the findings of Thompson. See the book note cited in n. 74 above.

Just, that of H. Dupre on Carnot, and the periodic volumes on Lafayette by Louis Gottschalk,⁷⁷ whose students at the University of Chicago are producing valuable monographs and volumes filling various loopholes in French Revolutionary history.⁷⁸

When war prevents the utilization of archives, historians may be additionally grateful for volumes of published sources. Two major French collections should be cited, although there may be no future additions to the series. The *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire économique de la Révolution française*, originally planned by Guizot in the nineteenth century as one phase of the publication of sources of French history, has appeared under the guidance of the Commission de recherche et de publication sponsored by the Ministry of National Education. The majority of volumes have been editions of *cahiers de doléances* or papers on the sale of national lands, but there were also volumes on subsistence, public assistance, specific industries, the economy of a particular area, and taxation.⁷⁹ A few volumes did not contain sources but were monographic in character.

The second French series of sources was entitled *Classiques de la Révolution française* and comprised definitive editions of *mémoires*, travels, and newspapers of the Revolutionary period.⁸⁰ This series was

⁷⁷ The Curtis volume appeared in New York, 1935; Dupre, *Lazare Carnot, Republican Patriot*, was published in Oxford, Ohio, 1940. Gottschalk has published three volumes: *Lafayette comes to America* (Chicago, 1935), *Lafayette joins the American Army* (Chicago, 1937), and *Lady-in-Waiting: The Romance of Lafayette and Aglaé de Hunolstein* (Baltimore, 1939). ⁷⁸ See the *List of Doctoral Dissertations*, cited in n. 56 above.

⁷⁹ Since no complete list of the volumes relative to the French Revolution of this official series has appeared, it seems desirable to give rather full information here. A list of thirty-nine items appeared at the end of the volume by E. Le Parquier, *Cahiers de doléances du bailliage d'Arques* (Lille, 1922), supplementary pages without number. The various bibliographies already cited also contained references, but the classified list at the end of this article should prove useful and is complete to the pause occasioned by the present war.

⁸⁰ In this series have appeared the following volumes: Séc, *Voyages en France* [Arthur Young] (3 vols., Paris, 1931); Henri Carré, *Correspondance inédite (1789, 1790, 1791) du Marquis de Ferrières* (Paris, 1932); Gaston-Martin, *La loi naturelle ou Catéchisme du citoyen français (Textes de 1793 et de 1826)* (Paris, 1934); Alma Soderhjelm, *Marie Antoinette et Barnave: Correspondance secrète* (Paris, 1934); Maurice Dommanget, *Pages choisies de Babeuf* (Paris, 1935); Alfred Chabaud, *Mémoires de Barbaroux* (Paris, 1936); Anchel and Evrard, *Tableau de Paris de Sébastien Mercier* (in preparation); H. Calvet, *Le Vieux Cordelier de Camille Desmoulins* (Paris, 1936); Bénétruy, *Souvenirs d'Étienne Dumont* (in preparation); Louis Jacob, *Robespierre vu par ses contemporains* (Paris, 1938). Although not one of this collection, Braesch's edition of *Le Père Duchesne d'Hébert* (Paris, 1938) should be noted. This was the first of six publications undertaken by the Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française. The Société robespierriste has reached Volume IV of the *Oeuvres* of Robespierre, which was entitled *Les journaux: Le Défenseur de la Constitution* (Nancy, 1938).

sponsored by Mathiez, and since his death it has been continued under the direction of Lefebvre. Both French series have necessarily ceased publication since 1939.

Various historians outside of France have also published useful volumes of sources in recent years. J. M. Thompson, the English historian already cited for his biography of Robespierre, has published two source books, one of Revolutionary documents in French and the other of excerpts from English eyewitnesses of the Revolution.⁸¹ E. L. Higgins's *The French Revolution as told by Contemporaries* leaves something to be desired from the point of view of editing but is, nevertheless, useful.⁸² John L. Stewart's promised volume, *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, should appear late in 1942 and will fill a need created by the lack of copies of Anderson's *French Constitutions*.

With French archives not available, American students of the Revolutionary period may discover more material in American archives, public and private, than was formerly realized. The thesis of Dr. Frances Childs on *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800* (Baltimore, 1940) pointed to one topic for which American sources exist and also to a subject of particular interest today.⁸³ Descendants of *émigrés* may have family archives, while European *émigrés* today have in some cases brought valuable papers with them to this country.⁸⁴

Numerous suggestions for future research have already been mentioned. When French archives are again open, the suggestion of Schnerb as to the value of the records of the industrial license tax, *la patente*, for various phases of industrial history should be investigated.⁸⁵ His study

⁸¹ Both volumes were published by Blackwell, Oxford, the first in 1933 and the second in 1938.

⁸² Boston, 1939.

⁸³ A number of studies of *émigrés* have appeared in France, among which are the following: Abbé R. Baret, "Bibliographie critique sur les relations du gouvernement britannique avec les émigrés et les royalistes de l'Ouest", in *Province du Maine*, XV (Sept. and Oct., 1935), 177-86; André Gain, "Liste des émigrés, déportés, et condamnés pour cause révolutionnaire du département de la Moselle", in *An. Hist. Rév. Fr.*, XII (1935), 560 ff.; Raemy de Tobie, *L'émigration française dans le canton de Fribourg, 1789-1800* (Paris, 1937); Wilhelm Wühr, *Die Emigranten der französischen Revolution im bayerischen und frankischen Kreise* (Munich, 1938).

Fernand Baldensperger, whose volumes, *Le mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française* (2 vols., Paris, 1924), have been used by all subsequent students of the *émigrés*, is now at Harvard University and may be expected to furnish valuable guidance for such studies.

⁸⁴ Miss Wilma Pugh has been authorized to work on a special collection of Talleyrand papers made available by a German refugee. It will be published by the American Historical Association in 1942.

⁸⁵ *Recueil des textes et tableaux relatifs à la patente* (Paris, 1933).

of these records for Puy-de-Dôme might be taken as a model for other departmental studies. Lefebvre and Hauser have many times pointed out the importance of notarial registers for many types of information and especially for land tenure and agricultural conditions of the Old Regime. The studies of the regional application of the *Ventôse* decrees by Schnerb and by Bouloiseau are both models of research and of historical writing.⁸⁶ There is ample room for local studies of both the *Ventôse* decrees and the Maximum.

Attention should be called to a very useful series of monographs begun in France in 1934, entitled *Cahiers de la Révolution française*.⁸⁷ It was the aim of the sponsors to publish a *Cahier* each year, with one or several short monographs on one particular phase of the Revolution, written by outstanding scholars. Several of these have already been referred to in this survey.⁸⁸ Each article presented a new point of view or a cogent summary of a topic otherwise treated in scattered works. The breadth of vision, the clarity of style, and the usefulness of each topic should be an inspiration to young American historians.

The opportunity, and in some sense the responsibility, of keeping French Revolutionary research alive rests at the present time with historians in America. Although most of the topics for future study that have been suggested in this article assume the use of French archives, there are American archives and collections to explore for their bearing on the French Revolution, and there are also many topics that can be based upon published materials. Much can be done on nationalism and upon the history of ideas.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ See Schnerb, "Les lois de Ventôse et leur application dans le département du Puy-de-Dôme", in *Bibliothèque d'histoire révolutionnaire*, Série 3, Vol. IX (1935), and M. Bouloiseau, *Le séquestre et la vente des biens des émigrés dans le district de Rouen* (Paris, 1937).

⁸⁷ These *Cahiers* have been sponsored by the Comité de direction de l'Institut international d'histoire de la Révolution française. The following six numbers have appeared: No. 1 contained three articles: Lefebvre, "Les paysans", Cahen, "La question du pain à Paris", and Georges Bourgin, "Babeuf et le babouvisme" (Paris, 1934); No. 2 contained: Édouard Chapuiset, "L'influence de la Révolution française sur la Suisse, Le département du Léman" (1934); No. 3 dealt with French colonies: Gaston-Martin, "La doctrine coloniale de la France en 1789", Roussier, "Les colonies pendant la Révolution", and Gaston-Martin, "Notes bibliographiques" (1935); No. 4 dealt with Italy and Napoleon. No. 5 was concerned with France and Latin America: Mirkine-Guetzévitch, "Preface", and Barbagelata, "La Révolution française et l'Amérique latine, Napoléon et l'Amérique latine" (1936). No. 6 dealt with public law and the Revolution: Sagnac, "Preface", and Mirkine-Guetzévitch, "Le gouvernement parlementaire sous la Convention" (1937).

⁸⁸ See especially *Cahiers* Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6.

⁸⁹ Harold T. Parker, *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries* (Chicago, 1937). Studies of Frederick B. Artz on French education, *Revue d'histoire moderne*, XII,

Contemporary events are challenging accepted interpretations of the decade of the French Revolution and should eventually bear new historical fruit. There should be deeper meanings discovered, both for theory and for practice, in the French Revolutionary tradition of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity".

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CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY SUPPLEMENTARY TO NOTE 79

For the list of volumes of *cahiers de doléances* that had appeared through 1935 see Hyslop, *A Guide to the General Cahiers* (New York, 1936), pp. 445-47. To this list should be added Fernand Evrard, *Versailles, ville du roi* (Versailles, 1935), and Gustave Laurent, *Reims et la région rémoise à la veille de la Révolution* (this is Vol. V, published in the same year, Reims, 1930, as Vol. IV cited in the *Guide*). Some other volumes of cahiers not in the official series have appeared since 1935, and Bouloiseau was preparing the cahiers of Rouen for publication in the official series when the war broke out.

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XIII (Sept.-Dec., 1937, and 1938), 469-519 and 361-407, respectively. Note the session on Science and Technology at the 1941 convention of the American Historical Association, with a paper by Henry Guerlac (see also the *List of Doctoral Dissertations*, cited above, n. 56). Charles H. VanDuzer, *The Contribution of the Ideologues to French Revolutionary Thought* (Baltimore, 1935), and three works by Palmer are useful contributions to the history of ideas, based primarily on printed sources. Palmer has more often used archival material for "Posterity and the Hereafter in Eighteenth-Century French Thought", *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, IX (June, 1937), 145 ff., "The French Jesuits in the Age of Enlightenment", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLV (Oct., 1939), 44 ff., and his more recent book, *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France* (Princeton, 1939).

Every historian of ideas and the French Revolution should be familiar with *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (New Haven, 1932), by Carl Becker, who has inspired so many American scholars to work on the French Revolution.

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The foregoing list of volumes pays tribute to the work of French historians.

THE FIRST PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION IN MANCHESTER

IN the numerous studies of the constitutional revolution of 1832 historians have paid little attention to the members of parliament sent up by the newly enfranchised boroughs, although these commoners nominally represented nearly a tenth of the population of the United Kingdom and composed a twelfth of the membership of the house of commons. In the reformed parliament the number of "fledgling" members representing new constituencies was considerable, and a large proportion of them tended to join the handful known as "radicals" in the old parliament in advancing measures too liberal for the Whig ministry. Out of such members the circle of Francis Place, James Mill, and Joseph Hume talked confidently of fashioning a Radical party which would soon replace the Whigs and Tories on the treasury bench. Simon Maccoby and Élie Halévy have described the program of the radicals, recounted their struggles with the Whigs, and explained their defeat.¹ In spite of this defeat the radical program was destined to become English liberalism in the next half century because the constituents of the new manufacturing boroughs implemented the program with the political power necessary to success. This paper seeks to discover the achievement in this direction accomplished by the inhabitants of the most highly industrialized English community in the election of 1832.

Manchester was the wealthiest and most populous of the newly enfranchised boroughs. Its factories dominated the cotton manufacture, the products of which made up more than one half the export trade in manufactured goods. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce debated national commercial policies with the gravity of a senate and annually besieged ministers and members with delegations and memorials. Dr. Kay's *Condition of the Working Classes in Manchester in 1831* proved that the town was a dangerous center of suffering and discontent. Peterloo and the reform agitation had earned for the town's 163,000 inhabitants a reputation for revolutionary violence. John Doherty, trade-union organizer, was telling the Manchester operatives in 1832: "The coming elections are to determine whether we are to have cheap govern-

¹ Simon Maccoby, *English Radicalism, 1832-1852* (London, 1935). Élie Halévy, *History of the English People in 1830-1841* (London and New York, 1927).

ment, equal and cheap law, cheap knowledge, and security of life and property by peaceable means, or we are to obtain these self-evident rights by the sword."² Such sentiments impelled the *Manchester Guardian* to assert: "There is not one of the new boroughs, probably not one place, borough or county, invested with the elective franchise, the proceedings in which at the ensuing election will be watched with such intense interest as those at Manchester."³

Local interests that had frequently been violently at odds over industrial and social issues and occasionally—as in the reform agitation—powerfully united to secure recognition of a common interest, were now to be pitted against each other in the arena of an election. The issues upon which they had previously divided were both national and local; but because political consciousness was not evenly developed in the respective interests, local problems provided the basic orientation of their attitudes toward the national issues raised in the election of 1832. Social transformation attendant upon industrial development and the interaction of economic interests within the frame of the existing system had produced four fairly distinct social groups in Manchester: a conservative party, a liberal interest, a lower middle class, and an urban proletariat.

The conservatives were the old families who owned or had owned land and houses in the business and newer districts, the clergy of the Established Church, some of the older manufacturers and merchants, lawyers employed by them, and a considerable proportion of their tenants and business dependents. Driven from dominance over the local government by a revolt in the parish vestry between 1817 and 1822,⁴ they had joined rival business interests of the town in forwarding an extensive program of municipal improvements through the police commission. In 1821 the business branch of the party supported the Chamber of Commerce in its efforts to remove the legislative restrictions imposed upon commerce by the excise and protective duties. Probably this activity converted the group as a whole from the opposition to reform which had distinguished its local governmental policy in the Peterloo period. They supported the transfer of the seats of Penryn to Manchester in 1828 and followed E. G. Stanley in supporting the Whig reform bills. Meanwhile industrial unrest, democratic agitation, and an

² *A Pennyworth of Politics by the Editor of "The Poor Man's Advocate"*, Sept. 8, 1832. ³ *Manchester Guardian*, June 9, 1832.

⁴ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The Parish and the County*, English Local Government (London, 1906), pp. 98-101.

attack upon the local church rates made them apprehensive of the effects of the Reform Act upon the social order. At the time of the election of 1832 they favored Canningite political reforms, relaxation of the excise and tariff regulations, maintenance of the rights of the Established Church, and preservation of the existing social order.

The liberals were the largest section of the local manufacturers, merchants, brokers, bankers, speculators in real estate, and the dependents of these in the professions and subsidiary trades. Their economic interests were closely identified with the state of the cotton manufacture, and of all the local groups they were the most conscious of the limitations upon local prosperity imposed by the existing commercial policy, which they called the "restrictive system". A very large number of them were Dissenters, but religious faith motivated their thinking less than the precepts of Adam Smith and the political economists. They had forced the conservatives to share the parish government and after 1821 used their predominance over the police commission to carry out a costly program of street and market improvements. They organized the Chamber of Commerce in 1821 to agitate for national commercial freedom and in 1832 expected the Whigs—supported by the voting power of the new industrial constituencies—to exceed Huskisson in forwarding this program. Because they believed the boroughmongering system had prevented economic and commercial reform, they had given support to the various political reform movements since 1790. In 1822 and in 1828 they attempted to secure representation for Manchester, and from 1830 they rallied the inhabitants of the town to the support of Grey's reform bills. Schism, however, threatened their party from the late twenties. Industrial strife and democratic turbulence inclined a large section toward moderation and compromise with the conservatives. On the other hand, a smaller and more doctrinaire faction, principally Dissenters and cotton manufacturers, wished to continue the struggle against the established interests and solicited the support of all who felt that the sufferings of the present could be traced to the restraints imposed by the past and its social order.

An almost completely local orientation circumscribed the political activity of the lower middle classes. As owners of cottages and tenants of shops they had struggled against the higher rates and the gas prices fixed by the police commission in order to finance improvements. Since their successes in local conflicts had depended upon their numbers and their defeats had been attributable to the overwhelming influence of property under Bourne's vestry act, the shopkeepers and tradesmen had

a decided predilection for extension of suffrage and the ballot. They had been trying since 1822 to secure the ballot in police commission voting and more recently to lower the police commission franchise from a £16 to a ratepaying qualification. The great majority of them being Dissenters, they were attempting in the thirties to abolish the payment of church rates. Hostility to Anglicanism impelled them to support its disestablishment in Ireland and various schemes for its reform by parliament. Calvinistic sects were the only institutions predominantly their own, and they were, therefore, especially susceptible to the exhortations of their ministers to support missions and condemn slavery in the colonies. Though poorly organized, they were profoundly affected by the intensification of social interstimulation characteristic of the new industrial milieu, while the £10 franchise made them a more powerful factor in local politics.

The urban proletariat, a relatively recent product of the factory system and the growth of the town, was loosely integrated in its own institutions, a common dependence upon the vagaries of the labor market, and the close interstimulation of congested habitations, streets, public houses, and workrooms. In the distress accompanying the end of the war and the first years of peace, their discontent had taken form chiefly in an agitation for radical political reforms—universal suffrage, annual parliaments, reduction of taxation and expenditure, and redistribution of parliamentary representation. The Sidmouth repression after Peterloo (1819) and the revival of prosperity broke up this unity of discontent and turned its component parts to independent action. The repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824, the panic of 1826-27, and Doherty's organization of the spinners of the three kingdoms produced a series of industrial conflicts and laid the foundations of a powerful trade-union movement among the factory operatives, builders, and other strong trades. The ten-hour movement, emanating from Yorkshire, inspired the factory hands to hope that parliament could be persuaded to shorten the hours of labor and interpose its hand against the rigid discipline of the mill.

Having learned reading in the Sunday and monitorial schools, the Manchester workingmen read the radical publications emanating from London and imitated the activities of radicals throughout the kingdom. Three local periodicals, *The Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, *The Poor Man's Advocate*, and *The Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, condemned the factory codes and cited instances of oppression by the masters. Three Owenite societies held out to the workmen the project

of a free society of laborers based upon co-operation. At the same time the trade-unionists again turned to political agitation. From 1830 a Political Union of the Working Classes supported the reform bills but harried the liberals with their demands that universal suffrage, the ballot, and annual parliaments be added to the reform program.⁵ These, with reduction of taxation and expenditure, removal of the "taxes on knowledge",⁶ and a ten-hour bill, were the issues the working classes of Manchester presented to the candidates upon the hustings in the autumn of 1832.

Even before the fate of the Second Reform Bill was settled, local parties prepared for the election by selecting candidates. In July, 1831, over 2,200 persons signed a requisition asking Mark Philips, local manufacturer and left-wing liberal, to become a candidate.⁷ A few days later two interlocking committees of inhabitants invited the Right Honorable E. G. Stanley and George William Wood to stand.⁸ Meanwhile the working-class leaders decided to nominate William Cobbett. The defeat of the second bill interrupted these proceedings, but as soon as the passage of the third bill was assured these candidacies were revived amidst a newspaper discussion of the proper qualifications requisite for a member of parliament for Manchester.

In general, the electors preferred a local man to a stranger.⁹ The *Guardian*, the organ of the moderate reformers, called for men of mature age, sound judgment, liberal principles, and sufficient wealth to make them independent of corrupting influences.¹⁰ The Tory *Manchester Courier* believed there were no Manchester problems upon which a clever man could not quickly acquire sufficient information. "Surely", the editor observed sarcastically, "it is not to be expected that our representative shall be able to exhibit to the working mechanics, the operative spinners, or the journeymen calico printers a knowledge of their occupations equal to their own."¹¹ The *Courier* did not require any platform from the candidates, preferring men of "unshackled judgments". The radicals in both the popular and propertied parties, on the other hand, demanded that the candidates pledge themselves to certain policies.¹² The vigor with which the radicals pressed these pledges had

⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, Oct. 15, 1831.

⁶ The newspaper stamp and advertising duties were called "taxes on knowledge".

⁷ A "requisition" was a letter or paper signed by several individuals "requesting" the addressee to become a candidate. *Manchester Guardian*, July 30, 1831.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1831.

⁹ *Ibid.*, June 23, 1832. A letter signed "An Inhabitant".

¹⁰ *Ibid.* A leading article.

¹¹ *Manchester Courier*, July 14, 1832. A leading article.

¹² *Manchester Times*, June 2 and 16, 1832. The practice of "pledging" candidates

much to do with the outcome of the contest because this attitude vitiated the position of the compromisers among the conservatives and liberals.

A coalition of compromisers was almost perfected in the linking of E. G. Stanley and G. W. Wood. Stanley was popular with conservatives for his support of the Establishment, his local connections, and his attempts to persuade Grey to accept modification of the Reform Bill. Wood, a wealthy Whig manufacturer, had been president of the Chamber of Commerce, a leader of the improvement program, and a spokesman for the townsmen in the attempts to secure representation. The shopkeepers, however, disliked Wood for his management of the municipally owned gas works, and the *Manchester Times*, the organ of the left-wing liberals, destroyed his chances of election by reminding the electors that Wood had attempted to deprive the majority of them of any voice in the police commission by advocating a £35 franchise qualification.¹³ Shortly after the *Times's* article Wood withdrew from the contest, and Stanley declined to be a candidate for Manchester. The collapse of this Tory-Whig alliance early in July, 1832, cleared the way for an outright contest among candidates more representative of the local political alignments.

The prospect that the representation might go to the Unitarian and "radical" Mark Philips and the popular idol William Cobbett impelled the conservatives to nominate a candidate of their own. In spite of their recent local defeats their cause was not hopeless. In the rich collegiated parish church they possessed a powerful political institution: its members were wealthy, and its clergy controlled valuable parochial and ecclesiastical patronage. The liberals who had supported Wood were not likely to find a stronger candidate and, if Philips spoke too radically, they would be inclined toward one whose principles were "to protect the rights of property and fearlessly and actively combat the lawless spirit of change".¹⁴ After considerable difficulty in finding a candidate willing to face the odds against him, the Tories secured John Thomas Hope, son of Sir Alexander Hope, as their candidate. Of a noted Scottish family, the Tory candidate was distinguished in his own right as an exceptionally handsome young man, a winner of the Newdigate

was probably adopted in imitation of the tactics of the London Benthamites in the election of 1831. The fact that the pledges required were similar to those demanded by the Benthamites' Parliamentary Candidates Society suggests that these London radicals were active in the Manchester contest. See also Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place* (London, 1898), pp. 236-37, and Maccoby, pp. 63-64.

¹³ *Manchester Times*, June 23, 1832. A leading article.

¹⁴ *Manchester Courier*, July 14, 1832. Account of the conservatives' meeting.

prize for poetry at Christ College, Oxford, and member of parliament for Gatton and Okehampton—both disfranchised by the Reform Act.

The liberals put up Samuel Jones Loyd, grandson of a founder of Manchester's oldest and wealthiest bank. Born in Manchester, Loyd had resided for several years in London, where he managed a branch of the family bank, and he had represented the forty electors of Hyde in parliament. His committee included twenty-two of Wood's and three of Hope's committees, and his absence from Manchester freed him from the kind of unpopularity that Wood's improvement promotion had provoked. Supported by the wealthier business interests and the *Guardian*, the London banker seemed certain of election, but in angling for conservative votes he made a series of blunders that raised up a rival candidate for the reformers' votes.

In his first speech Jones Loyd disturbed the liberal reformers by referring—perhaps with an attempt at humor—to a declaration of principles published that day by the conservatives: “he had examined their address with great care and attention, and if he were to seek the support of any one class of persons apart from the community at large, he would go to the gentlemen who had issued these highly talented resolutions, and with this document in his hand would declare he was their man”.¹⁵ His, he declared, would be the middle course: he was devoted to the protection of property, the advancement of commerce, and the retention of existing institutions. In his principal address, before the electors of the middle-class suburb of Chorlton-upon-Medlock on August 2, he identified the “middle course” with the principles of the Reform Act.¹⁶ He declared himself the “deadly enemy” of the restrictive system and promised to apply the principles of freedom of commerce to India, the China trade, and the Corn Laws. He advocated economy and the reduction of the number of useless offices but condemned Cobbett's proposal for the elimination of the national debt as a “dishonest act”. He opposed slavery and promised to look into the condition of the laboring classes. Finally, he would encourage the church to reform itself, but he would not withdraw support from it or enter into the question of appropriating its property until that of the distribution of property within the church was settled.

The address was apparently well received, but, in the question period following, Archibald Prentice, editor of the *Times*, divested him of any enthusiastic support from the middle classes. Replying to Prentice's

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1832. Account of the liberals' meeting.

¹⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, Aug. 4, 1832.

inquiries, Loyd refused to vote for the ballot or repeal of the Septennial Act because he considered the Reform Bill "a full, sufficient, and satisfactory measure". Tired by Prentice's dogged questioning—too lengthy to be detailed here—he blundered badly on the issue of church rates: "The question . . . is one of extreme nicety and difficulty, and I, therefore, do not wish hastily to give an opinion on it." From the point of view of the Chorlton and Manchester Dissenters, whose numerical majorities had been defeated for two straight years by judicial decisions and the vestry act, to delay settlement of this issue was to reject their demands.

Even the *Guardian* admitted that its favorite had shown himself "in his worst political aspect; that he had unfortunately so managed as to create the impression that he is less of a liberal than he really is".¹⁷ The *Courier* declared he was a better man than Philips¹⁸ but was unenthusiastic, probably because of the impression Loyd gave: "Cold and cautious he hazards an opinion as if he were opening an account, and the banker and broker may be traced in every principle he has ventured to propound."¹⁹ The *Times* declared that the Chorlton speech, "full of high-sounding phrases carefully divested of all meaning", had driven into opposition many who had formerly supported him.²⁰ A few days later, a group of reformers, convinced that Loyd was a Tory in disguise and unalterably opposed to Cobbett's currency policies, sent C. J. S. Walker and John Benjamin Smith to London to find a more suitable colleague for Philips.²¹

The composition of this group must be examined in some detail, for they not only forged the issues of the contest but also created at this time the nucleus out of which the Anti-Corn-Law League and the Manchester School were born. Prentice, Smith, Edward Baxter, John Shuttleworth, and J. C. Dyer were, or had been, cotton manufacturers. Walker was the son of a Manchester fustian manufacturer prosecuted for sedition in 1794, and Benjamin Heywood was the leading banker for the factory owners. Most of them were investors in joint-stock banks and advocates of the inflationary measures of the 1820's. All were followers of Adam Smith and the political economists, and Prentice and Shuttleworth were correspondents of the London Benthamites. Supporting their liberal philosophy, with which they associated their busi-

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1832.

¹⁸ *Manchester Courier*, Aug. 4, 1832. A leading article.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1832.

²⁰ *Manchester Times*, Aug. 4, 1832.

²¹ John Benjamin Smith, *Reminiscences of Manchester* (typescript of an original manuscript, Central Library, Manchester, n. d.), p. 5.

ness experience, was Calvinistic Nonconformity. Although they had been active in the struggle for parliamentary reform, not until this election did they have an opportunity to unite themselves behind a candidate and a program of their own.

In May, 1832, J. B. Smith had suggested Poulett Thomson, vice-president of the board of trade, as a possible candidate for the liberals,²² but the electors' partiality for a local candidate and the activity of Loyd's committee had apparently prevented the suggestion's being acted upon. On August 25, after an interview with Walker and Smith in London, Thomson visited for a few hours with a Manchester group while on his way to Liverpool, and the next day a placard appeared announcing that Thomson would be nominated.²³ Loyd's committee immediately charged that this was a breach of pledge on the part of Thomson, for Loyd had previously solicited and received Thomson's assurance that the latter, "being promised to Dover", would not seek the Manchester seat.²⁴ To clarify the matter George Humphreys submitted the following statement to Thomson in Liverpool: "The electors of Manchester are respectfully informed that Mr. Poulett Thomson has no intention of becoming a candidate for the representation of the borough, and that the placard calling for the electors to reserve their votes for him was put forward without his knowledge."²⁵ Thomson drew a pen through the words "becoming a candidate", wrote over them "offering himself as a candidate", and signed the paper. The document was published on August 28. The affair did not dispel the charge that Thomson had broken his word and not only deprived his committee of their candidate's open support but also of any obligation on his part to them.

Next to Cobbett the new candidate was the most widely known of the contestants. After serving his father's mercantile firm he had come under the influence of the philosophical radicals and had entered parliament in 1826 for Dover, where Jeremy Bentham had personally assisted in the canvass.²⁶ Here, with Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Joseph Hume, and Sir Francis Burdette, Thomson attracted attention as a radical. In

²² John Shuttleworth, comp., *Manchester Scrap Book* (a collection of letters, handbills, clippings, etc., Central Library, Manchester, 1811-34), f. 11. A letter from J. B. Smith to John Shuttleworth, May, 1832.

²³ *Manchester Guardian*, Sept. 1, 1832.

²⁴ *I.e.*, he had promised his Dover constituents to seek re-election from Dover. *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1832.

²⁵ *Ibid.* A political advertisement.

²⁶ *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1937-38), XIX, 716.

1830 he accepted the vice-presidency of the board of trade, and while occupying this post in the ministry he made a widely publicized speech in behalf of freedom of trade, proposed the abolition of the excise, reduced a few of the import duties, and replaced the excise on printed cottons with an import tax upon raw cotton. He had spoken against slavery and in favor of the ballot.²⁷ Most of his party in Manchester believed that his place in the government would be of considerable advantage in giving delegations from the constituency an entree to the ministers.

Thomson's platform was his committee's interpretation of his record, but the other candidates had personally to present and defend their positions on the issues before their constituents. Hope, the candidate of the conservatives, attempted to convince the electorate that the defense of existing institutions was the most important duty of the reformed parliament, while he assured them that their commercial interests would be safe in his hands. He was uncompromisingly opposed to any interference with the rights of the church: "the benefits of the church are open to all . . . persons.—(*Cheers and hisses.*) If it is right to maintain a church establishment, and I think it is, it is right that all parties in the country should have a share in the burden."²⁸ Admitting that he had "hesitated" at accepting the Reform Bill, he now acquiesced in it, but he opposed the ballot and repeal of the Septennial Act. Hope refused to give pledges, insisting upon using his own judgment upon measures brought before parliament. With regard to pensions and sinecures, he would not support "any measure which infringes upon the prerogative of the Crown" but would oppose all unmerited pensions and "embark with zeal in the reform of all those abuses in which the rational part of society think reforms are necessary and in a reasonable reduction in the expenses of the country". Having battened down his hatches against the waves of radicalism, Mr. Hope trimmed his sails beautifully to catch the rising wind of Manchester commercial interests. Ingenuously, he admitted inexperience in commercial matters but promised to study seriously the problems of freedom of commerce. He then promised more on this subject than did any of his rivals: he would abolish the monopoly of the East India Company, extend the influence of the crown in India, end the joint-stock monopoly of the Bank of England, and limit its

²⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, Oct. 13, 20, 1832.

²⁸ *The Representation of Manchester* (Manchester, 1832), p. 19. A pamphlet published by the conservatives containing an account of a dinner given in honor of Mr. Hope. The statement of Hope's policies is taken from this pamphlet.

power to control circulation.²⁹ He favored a moderate fixed duty on corn. The ten-hour bill, he contended, would encourage foreign competition and lower wages. He "abhorred" slavery, although he doubted whether "if the negro population were emancipated, they would ever become labourers for hire". He would be guided by the wishes of his constituents and the evidence on a police bill extending the franchise to all ratepayers.

While John Thomas Hope promised to resist revolutionary change and to further Manchester's commercial interests, William Cobbett proposed to terminate the distresses of the poor by his Fourteen Propositions.³⁰ Assuming that the authors of distress were the aristocracy, the clergy, and the fundholders, Cobbett demanded that parliament reduce the power of the aristocracy by abolishing pensions and sinecures, lowering salaries to American standards, reducing the size of the army, opening promotion in the navy, and restoring to the king the real power to appoint his ministers. The unfair burdens imposed by the clergy were to be removed by the abolition of tithes, confiscation of ecclesiastical endowments, and disestablishment of the Irish church. The fundholders were to be eliminated by the cessation in two years of interest payments on the national debt and by the consequent exchange of such stocks for expropriated ecclesiastical, army, and crown properties. These measures, Cobbett estimated, would reduce the annual cost of government to below £10,000,000 and would permit the removal of all internal taxes except those on land and the reduction of customs duties to levels necessary only for the benefit of navigation, commerce, and manufactures. Relief of the existing distress was to be completed by an adjustment of all pecuniary contracts made unjust by changes in the value of money.

Declaring he did not seek election from Manchester—he and Fielden were almost certain of election from Oldham—Cobbett rested his appeal to the electors on the Fourteen Propositions on which he had lectured in Manchester in January, 1832. From the hustings on nomination day he promised briefly to vote for Sadler's bill, immediate emancipation, and the enfranchisement of all ratepayers in police affairs, after which he dwelt at length on the shortcomings of the Whigs.³¹ On the issues with which Manchester was deeply concerned Cobbett had little to say, but that fact was of little consequence. The trade-unionists,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 6, 9-10, 13-14.

³⁰ *Manchester Courier*, Sept. 17, 1831, Jan. 7, 1832. *Manchester Guardian*, Jan. 7, 1832.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1832.

operatives, handloom weavers, Owenites, and distressed shopkeepers who attended his rallies were united only in their distrust of the powerful in government and property. Their support of the editor of the *Political Register* was a protest against the uncertainties of a new industrial economy, for the elimination of which they had not yet formulated a political program.

Mark Philips attempted to make his platform such a program for the benefit of all classes of the constituency. When he accepted his requisition, he pledged himself to the ballot, shortening of the duration of parliaments, abolition of sinecures and pensions, repeal of the taxes on knowledge, removal of the restrictions upon trade, abolition of monopolies, a moderate fixed duty on corn, immediate and unconditional emancipation, church reform, and the abolition of church rates and tithes.³² However, when he interpreted these pledges, his trimming provoked even the *Courier* to sneer: "We pronounce Mr. MARK PHILIPS to be fast approaching conservative principles; and but for a foolish pledge which he volunteered about the duke of WELLINGTON and Sir ROBERT PEEL, we should have predicted that he would become a Tory before Christmas."³³ He advocated triennial parliaments but wished to "see the reform bill have a full and fair trial before we begin to legislate upon it". He promised to vote for a police bill enfranchising all ratepayers but refused to support household suffrage because "those who are incapable of reading are not competent to take a share in the representation".³⁴ He insisted that the national debt be paid in full, demanded from the East India Company only the freedom of the China trade, and acknowledged his belief in the protection of agriculture. He qualified his pledge on immediate emancipation by saying, "Let there be no more children born in slavery." He would not vote for Sadler's bill or any other measure which interfered between masters and men and "meddled with the workman's capital, his labour". Finally, the Unitarian candidate declared that he would not vote for the total abolition of tithes: he would have the income of the church divided more equitably among the clergy and the surplus beyond their needs devoted to religious instruction, a national system of education, or reduction of the poor rates.³⁵ In spite of this trimming, Philips's claim upon the liberals and radicals was genuine. In action his program was vitiated by temporizing, but his pledges constituted a new and significant ap-

³² *Ibid.*, July 7, 1832.

³³ *Manchester Courier*, July 28, 1832. A leading article.

³⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, Aug. 4, 1832.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, July 21, 28, 1832.

proach to politics: a demand for extensive reforms supported by an appeal to new and hitherto politically impotent social forces.

After Thomson's entrance into the contest, Jones Loyd tried to remove the doubts upon his liberalism which his cautious approach to reform had raised among the classes exploited by the Philips and Thomson committees. Consistency prevented trimming to the left the policies he had advocated,³⁶ so he attempted to raise new issues. On October 10 he called for less interference in the affairs of other nations and the promotion of amicable and commercial relations with all nations.³⁷ Then he offered a solution to the problem of distress: the condition of the lower orders was due to the "lack of a sound and well organized system of national education" and to the deterioration of morals produced by "the vicious administration of the poor laws". Manchester opinion was at this time only slightly interested in foreign policy or the poor laws, and Loyd's attempt to make issues of these had no discernible effect.

Because Hope, Loyd, and Philips professed adherence to liberal measures and then interpreted their professions conservatively, the differences of policy among the candidates, if Cobbett be excluded, were not extensive. Nevertheless, because each party believed that the election of its candidate implied the acceptance by the constituency of a significant approach to the problems of reform, the election was bitterly contested. Philips, with 2,200 signers to his requisition, seemed certain of election, so the contest centered upon the selection of his colleague. The conservatives relied upon traditional methods of vote getting. Their candidate opened his campaign behind the doors of a meeting of "respectable inhabitants" called together by invitation, and he appeared on the hustings only on nomination day. Exploiting the personal charm of the handsome Newdigate prize winner, his committeemen took him on rounds of house-to-house visits and arranged to give him a prominent place at assemblies and concerts.³⁸ Meanwhile they placarded the town with his qualifications, one of the placards asserting, among other tributes, that an ancestor of their candidate had lost an ear in the service of his country.³⁹ They paid canvassers ten shillings a week with the promise of a bonus of £20 if Hope were elected.⁴⁰

³⁶ In the writer's opinion Loyd was the most intellectually honest of the candidates.

³⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, Oct. 13, 1832. ³⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 8, 1832.

³⁹ *The Squib*, Aug. 11, 1832. Election squibs periodically published by the Philips party. ⁴⁰ *Manchester Times*, Nov. 24, 1832.

Knowing that the £10 qualification excluded a large section of their party, the Cobbettites tried various means of exerting pressure upon the electors and the candidates. In August they formed associations the members of which agreed to confine their trading to shopkeepers who promised to vote for Cobbett or for candidates pledging themselves to extension of suffrage, the ballot, repeal of the Septennial Act, and Sadler's bill.⁴¹ They justified this, known as "exclusive dealing", on the ground that the intent of the Reform Act was to secure greater representation of the people and that, therefore, the franchise holders were but representatives whose duty was to carry out the will of the people. In the celebration of the passage of the Reform Bill, the spinners and weavers carried banners expressing their ranking of the candidates:

Cobbett's wages 5s. a day
Philips' wages 2s. 6d. a day
Loyd's wages 1s. 3d. a day
Hope's wages 9d. a day⁴²

The Cobbettites swamped Philips's open meetings, nearly 3,000 hearing him in the working-class district of Ancoats. After the speech four of Cobbett's committeemen in a cart drawn up for the occasion interrogated the candidate, and at the conclusion one of them drew a chorus of "Noes" when he asked the crowd if Philips was fit to represent them.⁴³

Not only was Thomson's committee handicapped by entering the contest so late, but their candidate was a stranger who could not appear before the electors and who might decline the seat even if elected. On the other hand, the committee was made up of zealots, whose attitude is thus described by Prentice:

The contest was felt to be one, not for 1832, not for one session, not for the return of one man, but for a precedent that might rule for a long series of years.

The opponents of coalition and compromise had principle, and knowledge, and zeal, and youthful activity on their side. The press teemed with their publications, and every placard, every handbill, every letter, every leading article, was a popular elucidation of the truths of political economy; and in this Thomson's committee was the precursor of the Anti-Corn-Law League in the great work of public instruction.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *The Poor Man's Advocate*, Aug. 4, 1832. *Manchester Guardian*, Aug. 18, 25, 1832.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1832. ⁴³ *Ibid.*, July 21, 1832.

⁴⁴ Archibald Prentice, *History of the Anti-Corn-Law League* (Manchester, 1852), I, 33-34.

They cited Thomson's speeches in parliament as the program of their party and exploited fully the opportunity of identifying their candidate with the cause of free trade. They hired men to pull down any new placard as soon as it appeared and to bring it to the committee. An answer was immediately prepared "so that it was a common thing to see placards against us being posted at one end of a street and an answer to it being posted at the other end".⁴⁵ One of these placards, entitled "Mr. John Thomas Hope, the six-foot suckling of corruption", listed pensions and sinecures held by his family totaling £13,026.⁴⁶ In letters to the *Times* and the *Guardian*, Thomson's partisans singled out Loyd for special condemnation. "Scrutator" pointed out that Loyd's name did not appear in the divisions or debates on a single retrenchment or reform measure advocated by Althorp, Maberly, or Hume.⁴⁷ "Ithuriel" declared the London banker's local knowledge enabled him to know only whose bills he could safely discount.⁴⁸ "Inquisitor" summed up the position of his party under the title, "The Political Identity of Hope and Loyd".⁴⁹

These tactics drew replies in kind from the other parties. The *Courier* declared that the theories Thomson advocated would destroy the vital interests of the country. His substitution of the tax on raw cotton, in particular, had injured the whole manufacture, whereas the fustian duty had affected only one branch.⁵⁰ Thomson's talents were low: "His principles have no higher source than the *Westminster Review*, and even the materials of the speech which his friends here have circulated, for the purpose of catching votes, are well known to have been furnished by Mr. PLACE, the tailor, of Charing Cross."⁵¹ Unwilling to attack a member of the ministry that had carried the Reform Bill, the *Guardian* bitterly denounced his local party. The editor suspected the motives of Loyd's opponents: "Have loans refused, or discounts limited exercised *no* influence over the conduct of any of his opponents? For ourselves, we believe, that in its origin the opposition to Mr. LOYD was more directed against him as a banker than as a politician."⁵² By entering

⁴⁵ Smith, *Reminiscences*, p. 59. ⁴⁶ Shuttleworth, f. 13.

⁴⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, Sept. 29, 1832.

⁴⁸ *Manchester Times*, Oct. 27, 1832. Letter signed "Ithuriel".

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Letter signed "Inquisitor". Copies and clippings of other letters of this kind may be found in Smith, *Papers: The Manchester and Salford Election, 1832* (typescript of some MS. fragments, including some clippings, Central Library, Manchester, n. d.).

⁵⁰ *Manchester Courier*, Sept. 15, 1832. A leading article.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1832. A leading article.

⁵² *Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 3, 1832. A leading article.

their candidate after most of the electors had been pledged to Loyd, the *Guardian* complained, the Thomsonites threatened to take enough votes from Philips to elect Hope.⁵³ However much these personalities may have influenced the voters, it is certain that they made the Thomson candidacy the center of the contest.

The committees of Cobbett's rivals refrained from attacking him openly, probably because his followers had votes which might be obtained as second-choice votes. Henry Hunt, the radical reformer, and Charles Wilkins, reformer and editor of the *Lincoln and Newark Times*, came to Manchester and denounced Cobbett before public meetings,⁵⁴ but it cannot be determined who arranged these meetings. On the other hand, a maneuver of the Cobbettites against Prentice had an important bearing upon the election. In 1828 the *Times* had objected to Cobbett's abuse of the abolitionists, and Cobbett had replied publicly: "The blacks may be Mr. Prentice's brethren for anything I know or care; but the West India proprietors and occupiers are the brethren of Englishmen."⁵⁵ Some of Cobbett's adherents placarded this letter over the town during the contest, and the abolitionists retaliated by bringing the antislavery agitator, George Thompson, to lecture in Manchester.⁵⁶ The lecture cost Cobbett many votes from the Nonconformist tradesmen and shopkeepers, whose support, under the franchise limitation, he could not afford to lose. Moreover, the affair probably revealed to the Thomson committee one of the most effective weapons of the contest, the issue of slavery.

Since each elector could "split" his vote by voting for two candidates or cast but one vote, a "plumper", for his favorite, combinations of parties seemed likely to have a decisive effect on the election. When Thomson was entered, the *Times* predicted that the Tories would seek an alliance with the Cobbettites,⁵⁷ and, despite denunciation of this as a particularly "unholy alliance", such an attempt was made.⁵⁸ In open-

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1832. A leading article.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Charles Wilkins, *The Address of Charles Wilkins, Esq., to the People of Manchester on the Incompetency of Mr. William Cobbett to represent them in Parliament* (Manchester, 1832).

⁵⁵ Prentice, I, 3-6. ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁷ *Manchester Times*, Sept. 8, 1832. Prentice was reluctant about accepting Thomson (Prentice, I, 20) and the week before had tried to persuade Cobbett to withdraw in favor of James Wood, Methodist manufacturer and short-time advocate, so that a working-class-radical manufacturer coalition could be formed under Wood and Philips (*Manchester Times*, Sept. 1, 1832).

⁵⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 15, 1832. *Manchester Times*, Dec. 15, 1832.

ing Thomson's campaign, J. B. Smith urged Philips's adherents to support Thomson as a reformer colleague of their candidate.⁵⁹ On nomination day Philips sealed this coalition by suggesting that reform could be advanced more rapidly if the electors linked a ministerial candidate with one more acquainted with local opinion.⁶⁰

With the Tories outnumbered, the liberals divided among three candidates, and the popular party limited by the qualification, the election depended not so much upon coalitions of parties as upon the vote of the one interest in Manchester without a candidate of its own—the lower middle classes. Hope's clericalism gave him little chance of obtaining much of this vote, while the antislavery lecture alienated many of these voters from Cobbett. Loyd had offended the Dissenters in dealing with church reform, but there was nothing in Thomson's record which could be pointed to in contrast; moreover, Loyd's deficiencies on this question had been revealed too early to be fully remembered. From the point of view of the middle classes, the only distinctions between the two were that Thomson favored the ballot while Loyd opposed it and that Thomson was a stranger while Loyd was not. Late in November, however, the Thomsonites succeeded in raising the issue of slavery between them.

At that time a large number of placards signed "A Friend to Missions" appeared, telling a story purporting to prove that Jones Loyd was a friend of the slaveowners and an opponent of Christian missions.⁶¹ In 1823 the Reverend John Smith, a missionary, had been court-martialed in Demerara, allegedly for inciting the slaves to insurrection, and had been so mistreated in prison that he died. Henry Brougham had introduced in the commons an address to the king praying an inquiry into the case. Loyd, the placard asserted, had voted against the address. Two weeks later the same author published letters from Zachary Macaulay and Fowell Buxton praising Thomson's work against slavery and endorsing his candidacy.⁶² Canvassers for Thomson quickly exploited the shock the disclosure produced upon the conscience of the Nonconformist electors and reported just five days after the second letter that they had secured 1,906 pledges for Thomson against 2,252 for Philips, 1,013 for Loyd, 711 for Hope, and 422 for Cobbett.⁶³

The ringing of bells and other signs of public rejoicing on Thursday

⁵⁹ Smith, *Papers: The Manchester and Salford Election, 1832*, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁰ *Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 15, 1832.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1832. ⁶² *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1832. ⁶³ Shuttleworth, f. 10.

morning, December 12, aroused a curious public to witness the first parliamentary election in the borough of Manchester.⁶⁴ Only the novelty of the event enabled the enormous crowd to restrain its impatience during the long and tedious formalities. Heckling and hooting so interrupted the speeches from the hustings that only Cobbett and his nominators could be distinctly heard. The show of hands gave Cobbett more than half, Philips about a third, and the others only a few scattered hands. The borough reeve declared Cobbett and Philips elected, but Hope's nominators demanded a poll, and the request was granted amid a storm of protest. The polls were opened at nine on Friday, and when they were closed the next day the following return appeared:

Candidate	Plumpers	Philips	Single Votes split with:				Total ⁶⁵
			Thomson	Loyd	Hope	Cobbett	
Philips	28		1,679	567	137	512	2,923
Thomson	57	1,679		152	83	97	2,068
Loyd	221	567	152		781	111	1,832
Hope	257	137	83	781		302	1,560
Cobbett	283	512	97	111	302		1,305

Of the 6,787 electors,⁶⁶ 5,267, or over three fourths, had gone to the polls. A small riot broke up the Thomson committee's celebration that evening, but otherwise the election passed without disorder.

Through a statistical analysis of the returns it is possible to understand the operation of the most numerous social interests in this election. The preceding table proves the existence of a Tory-working-class combination and also that the great majority in each of these parties rejected the seemingly "unholy alliance." Without the evidence of the poll-book⁶⁷ it is impossible to answer two important questions arising from the abortive coalition: (1) Was the alliance sought and supported chiefly by the Tories or the Cobbettites? (2) Which party benefited more from the alliance? From the evidence available in the above and in the succeeding table, it may be doubted that even if both parties had wholeheartedly accepted the alliance either Hope or Cobbett would have been elected. The £10 qualification, which the Tories thought too low, would have defeated the alliance and their candidate.

⁶⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 15, 1832. *Manchester Times*, Dec. 15, 1832. *Manchester Courier*, Dec. 15, 1832.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1832. ⁶⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 17, 1832.

⁶⁷ The writer made several unsuccessful efforts to find the pollbook while in Manchester in the winter of 1933-34.

From the following table the direction of the voting of the working, middle, and wealthy classes is suggested:

I. VOTES BY POLLING DISTRICTS⁶⁸

<i>District</i>	<i>Electors to Adult Males</i>	<i>Philips</i>	<i>Thomson</i>	<i>Loyd</i>	<i>Hope</i>	<i>Cobbett</i>
2 and 3	1:11	239	180	90	112	195
1 and 7	1:9	285	170	116	112	257
Newton	1:7	74	34	50	20	67
Hulme	1:5	176	113	81	91	117
WORKING-CLASS DISTRICTS		774	497	337	335	636
13 and 14	1:6	166	86	108	95	81
10, 11, and 12	1:5	238	128	192	167	84
4 and 8	1:5	240	196	159	110	116
Ardwick	1:4	142	100	75	79	66
Chorlton	1:4	473	388	244	227	121
5	1:2	256	207	155	107	101
MIDDLE-CLASS DISTRICTS		1,524	1,105	933	785	569
Cheetham	1:2	166	127	155	108	30
9	1:1	255	153	232	173	29
6	3:1	234	186	175	159	41
WEALTHY DISTRICTS		655	466	562	440	100

II. PERCENTAGE SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING TABLE

<i>Section of Manchester</i>	<i>Philips</i>	<i>Thomson</i>	<i>Loyd</i>	<i>Hope</i>	<i>Cobbett</i>
Working-class districts	30.0%	19.3%	13.1%	13.0%	24.6%
Middle-class districts	30.9	22.4	19.5	15.9	11.5
Wealthy districts	29.5	20.9	25.3	19.8	4.5

That Thomson's election was due to the winning of the middle class of voters is demonstrated by his pluralities in the middle- and working-class districts. The returns also suggest the effect of the £10 franchise in checking the democratic protest. Because all articulate working-class opinion in Manchester favored Cobbett, it seems likely that under adult manhood suffrage, the unenfranchised adult males of the laboring classes would have voted at least as heavily in favor of Cobbett as did the working-class districts. The preponderance in numbers of the work-

⁶⁸ This table is constructed from the following sources: Population of the polling districts—James Wheeler, *Manchester: Its Political, Economic, and Social History* (Manchester, 1839), p. 248; number and distribution of electors—*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 17, 1832; vote by districts—*Manchester Courier*, Jan. 19, 1833; description of the groups of districts—John Philips Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufactures in Manchester in 1831* (London, 1832).

ing classes would then have meant the election of Cobbett and Philips. It may be objected that the very poor have often been strongly conservative and, therefore, might not have voted as did those workingmen holding premises rated at £10. However, the very poor of Manchester never in the early thirties expressed in political form any attachment to the party of stability. Finally, the show of hands on nomination day and the popular demonstrations in favor of radical reform offer substantial evidence that the sentiments of the Manchester working classes were near to those of the Cobbett party.

Two uncertainties were removed by the results of the election: the fear of democracy and the prospect of a Tory triumph amidst a schism of reformers. Defeat dissolved the union of the democrats. The shop-keeping element turned their attention to local government, and the operatives to trade-unionism and the ten-hour agitation. The Tories reorganized their forces. Never again did they present a representative of aristocratic Toryism to the electors; Benjamin Braidley and William Ewart Gladstone, successively their nominees, were liberal Tories and Lancashire men closely associated with the cotton trade. In 1835 they revived the Hope-Cobbett alliance by organizing the Operatives' Conservative Association, and in local government they contrived with the shopkeepers to check the increasing power of the liberals.

The basic issue in the election had been whether "moderate" liberalism or uncompromising reformism would represent Manchester. In immediate achievements the victory of the radical wing of the liberals was barren. Philips, as his speeches in 1832 foreshadowed, was a weak representative. He voted with the radicals in the session of 1833 on all except two important motions,⁶⁹ but he did little else in support of parliamentary radicals in that or subsequent parliaments. Poulett Thomson also disappointed the men whose support he had not sought but had readily accepted when it was available and useful to his ambition. By 1837 J. B. Smith and the manufacturer radicals of his constituency were threatening to turn him out of his seat if he did not live up more strongly to his Benthamite reputation for advocating economy and freedom of trade.⁷⁰ The real victory in the election lay in an achieve-

⁶⁹ Hume's motion for Littleton as Speaker and Attwood's for a Select Committee on Distress.

⁷⁰ Smith, *Papers: The Corn Laws* (typescript of a manuscript, Central Library, Manchester, n. d.), pp. 3-4. See also the *Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 29, 1834, Shuttleworth (copy of a letter from J. Shuttleworth to Poulett Thomson, Mar. 2, 1834), and *A Report of the Discussions in the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on the Corn Laws* (Manchester, 1838), pp. 26-29, for expressions of dissatisfaction with their members of parliament from the manufacturer radicals previously making up the Philips and Thomson parties.

ment the effects of which were not fully to be felt until the 1840's: the left wing of Manchester's industrial capitalists had successfully bid for the leadership of the dominant forces in the industrial city by linking political propaganda with moral and humanitarian issues. Such was the technique of the Anti-Corn-Law League. As industrial and social problems became more critical and the political and politico-economic education of the English middle and working classes was extended, the policies and methods of this party became the decisive factors in British politics.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

CHINA AND ENGLISH CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

EVERY reader who has examined the source material relating to the history of the English civil service will remember encountering many references to the Chinese system of competitive examinations. Although the evidence is of a peculiarly refractory nature, the possibility of a Chinese influence upon the English system is thus suggested. It is the purpose of the present article to present the evidence in support of Chinese influence and to attempt to determine the nature and extent of such influence.

A brief résumé of the chief facts of civil service reform in England may be helpful. Early in the nineteenth century dissatisfaction with the old patronage system of civil service became apparent, and pass examinations came into use in certain departments between the years 1830 and 1850. In 1853 parliament, by the terms of the new charter of the East India Company, deprived the directors of the company of their appointive power and instituted in 1854 a system of competitive examinations after the academic type recommended by a commission of which Macaulay was the head. Also, in 1853, Northcote and Trevelyan reported favorably on appointment by competitive examination for the civil service in England, and limited application of the principle was made in 1855, when three civil service commissioners began their work of examining candidates. Open competition, however, the principle which prevails in England today, was not definitely established until 1870.

In presenting the evidence for Chinese influence upon the English proponents of competitive examinations, the first point to establish is that the Chinese system of competitive examinations was known in England. English knowledge of the Chinese system goes back at least as far as 1621. In that year Robert Burton published his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, in which he praised the Chinese because "Their *Loysii*, *Mandarini*, *literati*, *licentiati*, and such as have raised themselves by their worth, are their Noblemen only, [only] thought fit to govern a state".¹ From Burton's day on down, a constantly increasing stream of

¹ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. by A. R. Shilleto (London, 1893), II, 162. See also I, 115, 116.

English and foreign works on China diffused among English readers a knowledge of things Chinese, including the competitive examination system. For example, Du Halde's *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'Empire de la Chine*, which appeared in England in two different translations in the eighteenth century, devotes a whole chapter to the Chinese examination system.² Other accounts are to be found in standard works on China such as those by Staunton, Barrows, Davis, Meadows, and Medhurst.³ By means of these works and others like them a knowledge of the Chinese examination system was made available to English readers.

Secondly, there is considerable evidence to show that when, in the nineteenth century, the idea of competitive examinations became an issue, there was a tendency in the minds of both proponents and opponents to link the examinations with China and in some cases to admit by implication Chinese priority in the use of the competitive examination system. Thus a survey of six important English periodicals published between 1840 and 1888 yields sixteen articles in which the competitive examination system is mentioned with varying degrees of approval or disapproval, but in all of which the writers indicate their awareness of the fact that the system prevailed in China.⁴ For the most part the writers of these articles do not specifically state that the competitive examination came to England from China. It is significant,

² Jean Baptiste Du Halde, *The General History of China*, trans. by Richard Brookes (London, 1741), III, 1-14; *A Description of the Empire of China and Chinese-Tartary* (London, 1738-41), I, 374-78.

³ Sir George Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (London, 1797), II, 329-30; John Barrow, *Travels in China* (London, 1804), pp. 384-86; Sir John Davis, *The Chinese* (London, 1836), I, 198, 200-201, 259-60; Thomas T. Meadows, *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China* (London, 1847), pp. 124-54; and W. H. Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects* (London, 1838), pp. 144-51.

⁴ "China: Its Early History, Literature, and Language", *Westminster Review*, XXXIV (Sept., 1840), 138; "Wan Tang Jiu Wüh", *Fraser's Magazine*, XXVII (Feb., 1843), 179; "New Works on China and the Late War", *Westminster Rev.*, XL (Aug., 1843), 66; "The Insurrection in China", *Fraser's Mag.*, XLVIII (Nov., 1853), 600; "The Past and Future of China", *Blackwood's Magazine*, LXXV (Jan., 1854), 70-71; "Our Rural Population and the War", *ibid.*, LXXVIII (Dec., 1855), 747; "China and the Chinese", *Westminster Rev.*, LXVII (Apr., 1857), 295; "The Danubian Principalities", *London Review*, X (Apr., 1858), 218; "China: Past and Present", *Westminster Rev.*, LXIX (Apr., 1858), 207-208; "Chinese Competitive Examinations", *All the Year Round*, XII (Dec. 17, 1864), 445-53; "Celestial Rule and Rebellion", *Blackwood's Mag.*, C (Nov., 1866), 605; "Competition", *All the Year Round*, IX, New Series (Feb. 1, 1873), 275; Sir Rutherford Alcock, "The Peking Gazette", Part II, *Fraser's Mag.*, VII, New Series (Mar., 1873), 343-44; "China and the Chinese", *London Quarterly Review*, LI (Oct., 1878), 136; "Chinese Officials", *All the Year Round*, XXV, New Series (May 29, 1880), 55; R. S. Gundry, "China: A New Departure", *Westminster Rev.*, CXXX (Sept., 1888), 294-95.

however, that they recall the examination when they write about China and think of the example of China when they come to the subject of the examination. In other words, there is a linkage in their minds between China and the idea of competitive examinations for civil service.

More important as evidence are four of the sixteen articles in which the question of Chinese influence appears, albeit somewhat casually. In an article written a few years after the appointment of the first civil service commissioners we read: "The outside barbarians' are indeed only now taking a leaf out of Chinese books in their competitive examinations for public employment."⁵ Less specific is the following statement, in which Chinese priority in the use of the examinations, if nothing more, is recognized: "Competitive examinations . . . must beyond doubt have opened the door to many deserving candidates. . . . But much the same results seem likely to follow their adoption among ourselves that attended their establishment, ages ago, in China."⁶ Again, Chinese influence and priority are implied by another writer, who was opposed to the examinations: "Much has been thought and said of late years as to the merits of competitive examination for all the offices in the public service. And a great deal of clap-trap argument in favour of this system has been advanced, on no better foundation than its alleged success in China."⁷ Finally, Chinese priority is again admitted in an article written ten years after the system of open competition was in use in England: "They [the Chinese] have for centuries possessed our method of competing for appointments, but with infinitely less of restriction."⁸ Statements such as these tend to suggest a Chinese origin for the English competitive system.

The parliamentary debates of the period provide further evidence of the same linkage between the idea of the competitive examinations and China and the same partial admission of Chinese influence and priority. In 1853, in defense of the proposal for competitive examinations for India, Earl Granville declared in the house of lords: "I have heard it stated that one of the principal reasons why a small Tartar dynasty has governed the immense empire of China for upwards of 200 years, has been that they have got the talent of the whole Chinese population by opening every official situation to competition".⁹ Less than two months later he added:

⁵ "China and the Chinese", *Westminster Rev.*, LXVII, 295.

⁶ "Competition", *All the Year Round*, IX, New Series, 275.

⁷ Alcock, *Fraser's Mag.*, VII, New Series, 343.

⁸ "Chinese Officials", *All the Year Round*, XXV, New Series, 55.

⁹ *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, CXXVIII (June 13, 1853), 38.

I remember, my Lords, having referred a short time since . . . to the system of examination which I understand takes place in China, and which enables persons of the lowest origin to obtain the highest appointments in the Empire. Since I made that statement I have had the opportunity of conversing with a gentleman who has lately returned from China—I mean Dr. Bowring. . . . He entirely concurred with me in what I had stated on the subject, and informed me that respect for the literary character in China is carried to the greatest possible extent; and he attributed the maintenance of the small dynasty like that of the Tartars on the throne of China for so many years entirely to the manner in which by this means it had secured to itself so many adherents . . .¹⁰

The measure decreeing competitive examinations for the East India service was passed, but the same proposal for the civil service in England provoked lively debate. Lord Monteagle attacked the Northcote and Trevelyan Report by raising the question of a precedent for the new competitive system. Prussia, he said, had adopted “a similar plan” which had led to “an intolerable bureaucracy”.¹¹ His next precedent, however, was China:

But I must in candour admit that there is another precedent, and that a precedent coming from a great, if not flourishing empire. The wise men came from the East, and it may be thought by the Commissioners that wisdom comes from the same point of the compass. The only precedent which exactly applies is that of the empire of China.¹²

Lord Monteagle then continued with a series of comparisons between the Chinese system of examinations and that recommended in Northcote and Trevelyan’s Report. He made liberal use of an account of the Chinese examinations by W. H. Medhurst, called attention to what he felt was the impracticality of the Chinese system as well as to Medhurst’s own statement of its shortcomings, and concluded with the statement: “I have dwelt upon this Chinese precedent because it is the only one in point.”¹³ Even though the intention was to damn the Northcote and Trevelyan Report by linking its recommendations with the Chinese system, the continued emphasis upon the Chinese precedent is significant. And though Earl Granville immediately defended the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, CXXIX (Aug. 5, 1853), 1340-1341. The long life of the Chinese Empire is similarly explained in “Celestial Rule and Rebellion”, *Blackwood’s Mag.*, C, 605.

¹¹ *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, CXXXI (Mar. 13, 1854), 651. It should be noted, however, that Lord Monteagle was in error: the system of open competitive examinations did *not* prevail in Prussia. See Frank J. Goodnow, *Comparative Administrative Law* (New York, 1893), II, 51, 61.

¹² *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, CXXXI (Mar. 13, 1854), 651.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 651-54. For Lord Monteagle’s citations see Medhurst, pp. 144-51 and *passim*.

Chinese system in a brief speech,¹⁴ for almost ten years opponents of competitive examinations continued to identify the English system with the Chinese, to draw ominous parallels from the relationship, and, at least in the case of Mr. Bailie Cochrane, to insist that the English “did not know that it was necessary for them to take lessons from the Celestial Empire”.¹⁵ It will be seen that the evidence from the parliamentary debates parallels that of the magazines. Obviously Englishmen linked the idea of the competitive examinations with China, recognized Chinese priority in the use of the examinations, and at least in some cases acknowledged by implication a Chinese influence.¹⁶

Thirdly, corroborative evidence may be drawn from several lesser considerations. For one thing, the very strength of the English protest against the competitive examination system is indicative of its novelty in England. This lack of English precedent was attested in the house of commons by the undersecretary to the board of control: “The putting up offices to public competition”, he said, “was something quite new in this country. There was every reason to believe, and he hoped that it would succeed.”¹⁷ Furthermore, the proponents of the competitive system never protested against the linking of the English system with the Chinese, even though this was frequently of a derogatory nature. And in only one case was any other than a Chinese source suggested by either proponents or opponents of the competitive examination system, the one case being the incorrect citation of a Prussian precedent by Lord Monteaule.¹⁸

Fourthly, the fact that the English examinations and competitions were so frequently described as “literary” provides further evidence of Chinese influence upon the English civil service system. Competitive examinations were of course in use in English universities, but they were never called “literary examinations” or “literary competitions”.¹⁹ In China, however, the connection between literature and the examination for administrative appointments was well established. The full name of the examination was “Examination for Extensive Learning and Magnificent Literature”, and those who had passed their first ex-

¹⁴ *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, CXXXI (Mar. 13, 1854), 661.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, CLVI (Feb. 16, 1860), 1193; CLVIII (June 5, 1860), 2064; CLXIII (June 21, 1861), 1437; CLXXII (July 17, 1863), 958 (Mr. Bailie Cochrane).

¹⁶ Further evidence of the same linkage is to be found in *Papers relating to the Re-organisation of the Civil Service* (London, 1855), pp. 47, 159.

¹⁷ *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, CXXVIII (June 23, 1853), 639.

¹⁸ See above, n. 11.

¹⁹ The nearest approach to it is the “Lit. Hum.”, or “Literae Humaniores”, an examination in the classics.

amination were called "Siu-Tsai", that is, "Blooming Literati" or "Blooming Talent".²⁰ The content of the examination was also of a definitely literary nature, as is well known. It was the literary quality of the tests for political appointments that proved so attractive to Carlyle: "By far the most interesting fact I hear about the Chinese is one on which we cannot arrive at clearness, but which excites endless curiosity even in the dim state: this namely, that they do attempt to make their Men of Letters their Governors!"²¹

The evidence that has been presented would not justify us in stating that the Chinese system alone is sufficient to account for the introduction of the open competitive examination system in England. The fact that the Chinese system had been known in England since the seventeenth century but had had no effect until the increasing complexity of government called for more competent officials is a point against such a sweeping assertion of influence. But neither can Chinese influence be entirely denied. The evidence, summarized, indicates (1) that the Chinese examination system was well known in England; (2) that in the periodical literature and the parliamentary debates of the times the idea of the competitive examination was linked with China; (3) that both in and out of parliament the assertion was made that the examination system was a Chinese institution and no denial was ever made; and (4) that no country other than China had previously made use of a system of competitive civil service examinations, and that no Western individual, nation, or race ever claimed the idea as its own invention. Surely a measure of Chinese influence must be admitted upon the basis of this evidence.

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²⁰ In the Sung Dynasty the official name was "Election [Examination] for Industry, Literary Excellence, Knowledge of the Classics, and Well-Regulated Conduct". Later the simplified name, "Examination for Magnificent Literature", was used. Still another name was "Examination for Equal Excellence in Literature and Learning".

²¹ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, ed. by Archibald MacMechan (Boston, 1901), p. 194.

DOCUMENTS

AMERICAN SECTIONALISM AND WORLD ORGANIZATION, BY FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

WHEN Woodrow Wilson went to Paris in December, 1918, he took with him, in addition to a great staff of technical experts, several dossiers of material which he thought might be of use to him. In one of these is a manuscript apparently written in November, 1918, by Frederick Jackson Turner and entitled "International Political Parties in a Durable League of Nations"—a curious and penetrating effort to apply the lessons of American sectionalism to the problem of international organization. That manuscript, which since 1918 has remained in the Wilson Papers, is here published for the first time.¹

No references to the origin of the manuscript have been found in the Wilson Papers, no indications of how Turner came to write it or how it reached the President. To be sure, he had known Wilson well during his student days at the Johns Hopkins University and during the years of his professorship at the University of Wisconsin. But, Turner wrote later, he "had no further touch with him after he became President".²

Nevertheless, for a professor of history, and especially for Turner, to have written a paper on such a subject at that time was not unusual. The American historian, like the soldier, the worker, and the businessman, went to war in 1917 and 1918. Engaged in an activity which generally assumes an attitude of unconcern with the problems of the

¹ Acknowledgment and thanks are due to Mrs. Woodrow Wilson and to Mrs. Frederick Jackson Turner for permission to publish the manuscript. It consists of seven typewritten pages, partly original and partly carbon copy. One page consists of two lines of original and a carbon copy pasted on. These facts suggest that other drafts of the manuscript may exist. The pages seem to have been hastily and inexpertly typed, for they are full of typographical errors. A few corrections and additions in pencil and pen, most of them identifiable as Turner's hand, have been made on the manuscript. Phrases and sentences have frequently been underscored, but by whom is not known.

In preparing the manuscript for publication, obvious typographical and spelling errors have been corrected, since their repetition could serve no useful purpose. This policy follows the precedent set by the editors of *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner* (Madison, 1938). The few marginal notations and markings have been eliminated.

² "But", Turner added, "this does not mean that I was not an admirer of him!" Turner to Ray Stannard Baker, Apr. 4, 1927. MS.

present, many historians, for the duration of the emergency at least, frankly placed their knowledge at the disposal of the government and directed their activities into channels thought useful for the national effort.³ For those purposes the National Board for Historical Service was organized in the same month in which the United States entered the war. The board early decided that historical research ought to be directed to problems that might provide guides for future action.

Can we not give greater zest to our research work, both in seminary and as individuals [it suggested in a letter to the leaders of the profession] by dealing with phases which are directly or indirectly connected with present problems? Shall we not feel better justified in following the scholar's calling if by our investigations we furnish material useful to Americans in determining their decisions in the great issues which now confront them and which will, in changing forms, confront them for a considerable future?⁴

Turner was a member of the conference which organized the National Board and then became a member of the board itself.⁵ Moreover, his philosophy of history, as Professor Carl Becker has suggested, took the form of a question: "If mankind could once really understand what it has done and thought in the past, is it not possible that it would stumble along now, and in the future, with more intelligence and a more conscious purpose?" He was "always occupied primarily with the present, and with the past as illuminating the present".⁶

Small wonder, then, that Turner looked into American history to see what clue it might provide to a solution of the problem of world peace. He found a clue in the story of the interplay of sections and parties in American history and in his conviction that the American Union was essentially a League of Sections not incomparable to a world league of nations. What, he asked, held the League of Sections together? Perhaps, he suggested, the same principle might be used to hold a league of nations together.

In brief, this document is an effort by one of America's most distinguished and stimulating historians to put historical knowledge to

³ On historical activities during the World War see "Clio joins the Colors: Scholars and the Schools", in James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words that won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1919* (Princeton, 1939), pp. 158-86; Newton D. Mereness, ed., "American Historical Activities during the World War", in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1919*, I (Washington, 1923), 137-293.

⁴ Waldo G. Leland, "The National Board for Historical Service", in *ibid.*, p. 168.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 161, n., 164.

⁶ Becker, "Frederick Jackson Turner", *Everyman his own Historian* (New York, 1935), pp. 207-208, 224. This essay had been published earlier in Howard W. Odum, ed., *American Masters of Social Science* (New York, 1927).

work for society. It has, therefore, a double interest. Today the same questions which produced this manuscript are again being asked. The answer Turner suggested in 1918 will be read today with heightened interest. Moreover, it throws new light on another facet of the work and thought of Turner himself; for, although in the years that followed the war he occasionally and briefly mentioned this application of American sectional and party history to world organization, the following pages contain what seems to be the earliest and fullest exposition of his thought on the subject.⁷

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN A DURABLE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY
HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Nov 1918

The following is an *abstract* of suggestions (derived from the study of the history of American sectionalism and the geography of American political parties) upon the bearing of American experience on the problems of a League of Nations. The conclusion is reached that in such a League there should be a Legislative body, with substantial, but at first limited, functions, as well as a Court, or Council of Nations, and particularly that the *operation of international political parties in connection with such a Legislature* would promote the permanence of the League. Whether the difficulties and social dangers inherent in the suggestion overbalance the other considerations is left undetermined.

The weakness inherent in a League of Nations is that it is exposed to intrigues by one or more of its component nations among the others most amenable to such influences, to produce a situation requiring the application of League force, economic or military and naval, as the alternative to submission to intolerable results. But such application of force may well prove to amount to another World War. The danger lies partly in the European habit of diplomacy, the traditions and the training of her statesmen, and the analogy of a Congress of Nations to the historic Congresses of diplomats, and partly in the economic interests and ambitions of the nations under old-time leaders.

On the other hand, American ideals as so nobly set forth by the President, have found a quicker response among the European laboring classes than elsewhere, and in the passion for democratic peace among the masses lies the hope of the peace of the World internationally. What light does American experience cast upon the possibility of so using the masses as to promote international unity?

1. The area of the United States is about that of Europe; its geographic

⁷ See, for instance, "The Significance of the Section in American History" (1925), in *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York, 1932), pp. 41, 50-51; "Geographic Sectionalism in American History" (1926), *ibid.*, pp. 203, 205; "Sections and Nation" (1922), *ibid.*, pp. 315-20.

provinces or sections are comparable in area and in resources to Nations of Europe; in some respects these sections have cultural features clearly distinguishing each. Nevertheless, the history of the United States offers a sharp contrast to that of Europe in that *these sections have not become rival nations*.

2. Although *in form the federal aspect* of the United States is that of a union of *States*, in fact such States have acted in *sectional groups*, or have acted with the knowledge that they were backed by a common sectional sympathy. *Actually the federation has been between sections*, concealing their operation for the most part under the form of state action, or under the form of votes in Congress, in National political conventions, or in the distribution of votes in Presidential elections. A rather careful study of such material has shown that such votes are much more often evidences of sectional rather than mere party action than is usually realized. Even when a State has included in its borders parts of two sections, the state's representatives have shown a tendency to divide on sectional lines. In the notable case of Virginia there was division into two states, and the attitude of the counties adjacent to the Alleghany mountains in the South during the Civil War is a familiar illustration of how far this phenomenon may go.

3. In short, *the section is the imperfect image of a nation in the European sense, deprived of those attributes of a European nation which have been most productive of war*. Except for the tragedy of the Civil War, there has been a *Pax Americana between these sections stretched across a continent* for a period of over a century and a quarter. This has not been because there was an absence of grounds for sectional antagonisms, or of those antagonisms themselves. Current newspaper discussion in criticism of the alleged domination in Congress by this or the other section made by those out of power, show often a real bitterness. The history of the construction of tariff schedules, transportation problems, the currency, the public lands, etc., is the history of sectional political contests. It is possible to translate American political history into European terms and thereby to make clearer the resemblances between European history and these partly concealed aspects of American history.

Sectional rivalries and combinations in dealing with the growing power of the new Western states, as the nation expanded, are analogous to European contests for "spheres of influence"; rival sections viewed the West as a reservoir for re-adjustment of sectional "balance of power"; their leaders in Congress consciously and avowedly negotiated sectional alliances and *ententes*; sectional contests over the termini of extensive railroad lines, first into the Mississippi Valley from the coast of the Atlantic and later from the Mississippi to the Pacific, were fundamentally like the "Bagdad Railway" contest. We have actually recognized and organized the sectional element in our laws, such as the act for the regional system of reserve banks. Of these facts there is abundant evidence in the utterances of statesmen throughout American history, as well as in the distribution of votes.

4. Granting the powerful influence of economic consolidation, as in business and transportation, the binding force of a common tongue, and institutions, and various other elements which distinguish the American from the European conditions, it is significant that there is so much of likeness between the mild American section and its stronger sister, the European state. So real was the sectional factor that if sectional governments had replaced state governments, with sectional customs houses (as Calhoun in his

Exposition suggested), it may well be doubted whether the influences of interstate commerce and transportation would not have been quite as much occasions for contention between sections as binding forces. Even the provision of the federal constitution for action upon individuals rather than upon states in the matters assigned to the central government might have been too weak for the divisive forces of sectional controversy.

Had the Union been merely a League of Nations or States, with provisions even as advanced as those of the Articles of Confederation, it may well be doubted if the nation could have been held together. This doubt grows when we remember that at various crises it was to the interest of European nations to foster this division in the interest of their own policy; and that connection with some European state was always reckoned with by a remonstrating section. In fact Civil War between sections did finally occur. It would have come earlier in case of a League.

5. Divergent as are the conditions and the development of Europe and America, the very freedom of this country from some of the complexities of Europe, the large lines in which her simpler story has run, may be helpful, not only as a warning, but as a constructive contribution to the new order. That Europe is in a receptive mood appears in the attention which it has given to American ideals of the worth of the common man, of the hope and faith in democracy and fair play, and the advantage of self-sacrifice and disinterestedness, which the President has so nobly set forth.

We have given evidence that immigrants from all nations of the world can live together peacefully under a single government that does justice. *In our political institutions also are elements worthy of consideration.*

Notice has already been taken of the utility of the provision of the Constitution which assigns to the federal government a direct relation to the individual in important assigned spheres of jurisdiction. This may not be at first practicable in a League of Nations. But it is important to call attention to the *significance of the American national political parties, operating upon the whole Union, not confined to a section. The last tie that snapped before the Civil War, was the party tie.* This has, perhaps, in its working, been the *most effective single political institution for the prevention of sectional disunion.*

In a region as diversified in some respects as Europe itself, and as large, the *national political parties ran across all sections, evoked intersectional or nonsectional party loyalty, checked the exclusive claim of the section to a vote in the interest of the section, furnished the dissenting minority within the section an organic connection with party associates in other sections, at the same time that this connection was dependent upon just recognition of the special section in which the minority lived. It was an elastic bond, but one that was strong. It ran horizontal cross-sections of party ties across the vertical lines of sectional division. It enabled the voter to act continentally,* and it compelled the statesman to act on lines of policy that transcended his section, if he would secure a continental following strong enough to bring success.

6. There is a distinct advantage in utilizing this party system in a League of nations, if it does not carry with it countervailing disadvantages grave enough to lead to its rejection. In essence it means the utilization of that body of internationalism already in evidence not only in such organizations as radical political parties, such as the International, the I.W.W., Socialists generally, etc., but also the opposite tendencies seen in international business

combinations, scientific and educational international organizations, and conservative forces generally. The class struggle, so called, is in fact not a national but an international struggle. If party organization of the radical element alone exists, and if this organization is also dominated and shaped by some one or two nations, as Germany or Russia, it will be extended, as it has been, to other countries in the form of secret, or intriguing societies, proceeding by revolutionary methods, with little or no regard for the separate interests of the nation into which it is introduced as an alien, and with its helmsman operating from the outside, and steering a course which almost necessarily involves adhesion to the primary interest of the country in which such a party is recognized as a powerful element in the determination of the policy.

Is it better to try to exclude these international political forces from the organization of the new order, or to utilize their internationalizing tendencies by enabling them to operate upon an international legislative body, responsive to play of parties? Is it worth while to use the fact of class consciousness to diminish the violence of national consciousness?

There can be little doubt that the common people, whether of the extreme radical wing of socialists, or of the conservative party groups, were reluctant to enter the war, and are now in Germany and Austria-Hungary the severest critics of the autocratic group which deceived them and misled them. The labor groups have been more responsive to the policy of internationalism than, as yet, the other groups. At critical junctures their support, in England and France, has been important to the policy of President Wilson. They have a measure of international self-consciousness, partly because they have international organizations. There is no reason why similar organization on an international basis might not be given to conservative parties.

7. One recoils from any suggestion of adding a party loyalty international in its appeal to the loyalty to the individual nation. But the very idea of a League of Nations involves some diminution of the national feeling, some cultivation of international loyalty. If one could keep the Bolshevik serpent out of the American Eden, he would hesitate to admit any international party organization which permitted such organization.

But in the reconstruction and the ferment which will follow the return of peace, there will be doubts about the existence of Edens anywhere, and the Bolshevik serpent will creep in under whatever fence be attempted. May it not be safer to give him a job of international legislation rather than to leave him to strike from dark corners, and with no sense of responsibility?

On these questions, I am not sure. Consideration might be given to the probable actual vote possible, considering the estimated strength of political parties in the component nations of such a League, before assigning legislative functions in detail. We should have at least a rough estimate of the probable power and probable policies of the various groups. This I have not. So far as the special interests of the United States, however, operate on the decision, she has less to lose by an improvement in the conditions of labor and wages in Europe or Asia than she has to gain. If such a central legislative body, therefore, should gain even the power to standardize labor conditions, it must standardize them upward to avoid revolution, and this result, desirable in itself does not diminish but rather increases the power of the United States to develop international commerce, etc., and makes plain our relatively higher standards.

8. For the operation of international parties as a check upon nationalism, there is requisite a Legislative body in the League, with limited but real powers. The evils of combining class struggles with national feeling would be apparent in a mere judicial or executive tribunal with international coercion as its sanction. The League should take to itself a field of legislation.

At first this might be merely certain fiscal subjects, funds for supporting the League activities. Its action might be required precedent to the use of force either by a component state, or by the League as a sanction to its decisions. The kind of economic pressure to be placed upon a delinquent state might be there determined. Principles to apply to the internationally controlled areas might be determined. International tariff legislation might be assigned to it. Legislation upon labor questions as advocated by some of the international labor congresses might even be finally confided to such an organization. Possibly at first its power in such matters might be recommendatory, the formulation of bills or policies to be urged upon national legislatures.

There is an abundant field from which to select. The choice should be made with two ideas prominent: first that progress should be made carefully, without hazarding the system by too sudden a construction, liable to fail by its newness and radical nature; and second that unless some real powers are conferred upon such a legislature, it will fail to call out international parties to affect its action, these parties will be under the domination of special states where their influence will be greatest, and the unifying influence of non-national party organization will not be secured.

I have no doubt that all things considered the international party would tend toward unity in such a league as the intersectional parties did in the United States. But the price to be paid in the loss of national control over important interests of its own, and the danger to the orderly states may be too great. It must also be admitted that the differences between section and nation are many and deep, and that there are some points in which international jealousy and controversy might be promoted rather than restrained by internationally organized parties operating on a legislature. It might conceivably be used by [an] ultraconservative majority to restrain reform in a particular nation. But similar difficulties will exist in the charges of special combinations within a League equipped only with judicial tribunals or consultative congresses, or with administrative organizations. There will be sectional jealousy and suspicion in any League, with whatever form of political organization. It is inherent in its nature. The problem is the introduction of checks and antidotes to this tendency.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

A History of Magic and Experimental Science. By LYNN THORNDIKE, Professor of History, Columbia University. Volumes V and VI, *The Sixteenth Century*. [History of Science Society Publications, New Series, IV.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. xxii, 695; xviii, 766. \$10.00 a set.)

THESE volumes constitute the latest and in some respects the most significant unit in a monumental project. They continue the general plan and tradition of the earlier portions, but in one direction at least they are bound to exert a wider influence. The author's invaluable lifework has left a profound impression on the history of medieval thought. If in the past Thorndike's account may somehow have escaped the attention of single-minded scientists, it is because the period covered, the first fifteen centuries of our era, was felt to be a veritable scientific void which magic sought in vain to fill. Now, however, it is the realm of early modern science which is evaluated, and the manner in which this is done will not fail to startle those who continue to cherish the dogma that in the year 1543 science emerged metamorphically from the dark chrysalis of the Middle Ages.

The central thesis of the work is that magic and science, even in the sixteenth century, were so intimately related that the development of the latter cannot correctly be understood without reference to the history of the former. This is well brought out by a passage which, among others, serves to illustrate the author's striking command of language and expression:

If the Diadochi of Regiomontanus at Nürnberg and elsewhere mingled a good deal of astrology—which now seems to us superstitious and worthless—with mathematics and astronomy—which we call sound science—it must be remembered that their master himself had done the same, that to neither him nor them did it seem superstitious or worthless but equally sound science with the rest, forming not an incongruous mixture but an organic union. If anything, the astrology was the warp, and the instruments, tables, calculations and observations only the woof in the web of their activity, in the seamless robe of Queen Philosophy. Those historians of “modern science” who would pick out merely the threads that seem to them to deserve the name of science can neither trace a connected development which is true to life and thought then, nor paint a picture of the past with any claim to verisimilitude, nor even unravel the skein of particular problems. They merely tear to pieces a unified fabric . . . and show no regard for how it was woven.

Through innumerable citations and a multiplicity of detail it is conclusively demonstrated that the writings of one and the same man may range all the

way from sober science to weird fantasies of superstition. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that a scientist's contribution to knowledge is to be measured by his sound positive achievements rather than negatively by his "batting average" in handling the tempting slants of occult philosophy. Despite the credulity of their authors, the algebra of Cardan, the anatomy of Falloppia, the botany of Cesalpino, and the remarkably accurate astronomical observations of Tycho Brahe constituted far more valuable additions to scientific theory and practice than all the attacks on magic composed by their contemporaries.

Thorndike's treatment may be interpreted as an appreciation of the forgotten man and his age in the history of science. Conventional presentations of the material invariably leave the impression that science developed only in certain well-defined periods and milieus under the leadership of a few intellectual giants who, towering over others, took strides far in advance of their times. This illusion is here effectively dispelled by a vigorous two-fold attack on that *bête noir*, the Renaissance, and on hero worship in the history of science. The sixteenth century was motivated by a complex of forces, not all of which were conducive to scientific advance, and the author takes evident delight in citing instances of the "antiquarian and reactionary" spirit of the age. The revolt against authority, which commonly has been interpreted as a reaction against superstition and sacerdotalism, is shown to have been motivated largely by "humanist prejudice against medieval writers" and by a "classical snobbery" which tended "to put sweetness of words and style before substance and solidity".

Nor do representatives of the age fare better. The first target is Leonardo da Vinci, so frequently hailed as the incarnation of that "spirit of the renaissance" which Thorndike satirizes delightfully as "that rare gas which the historical laboratory has never yet succeeded in holding in solution". Sedulous admirers of Leonardo will wince at the revelation of his weaknesses and his medieval indebtedness, although they may take some comfort in the fact that he is here judged on what he wrote rather than by what he did. The work of Copernicus and Vesalius, too, is shown to have been far less revolutionary in substance and influence than has been claimed. *De revolutionibus* sought rather to modify than overthrow the Ptolemaic system, and the way for *De fabrica* had been prepared by at least two centuries of public dissections in the study of anatomy. These treatises, however, later acquired reputations the aura of which has obscured the fact that they are but leading examples of a host of scientific works which appeared throughout the century. Thorndike has made a characteristically accurate and extensive examination of this literature and has collated scores of scientific and pseudoscientific works in order to illustrate the constant interplay of magic with science. In this analysis lesser lights come into their own. Entire chapters are devoted to men whose names seldom appear in histories of science—

the Peripatetic anatomist Achillini, the pharmacist Brasavola, the theologian Erastus, the philosophers Nifo and Pomponazzi, and the physicians Gratarolo and Champier—as well as to those traditionally high-lighted; proportionately less space is reserved to dozens of others still less known. One is struck by the great preponderance, among those cited, of medical professors and practitioners. Never before or since did this group hold so prominent a position in the history of mathematics and science; and yet “quacks and empirics flourished in medical practice of the second half of the sixteenth century”, while “astrology and other occult arts . . . constituted the vortex in which all works upon nature and medicine of that century had to whirl, however resplendently scientific they may seem to shine and to shape their course”.

In handling his subject the author wisely has resisted the temptation to make a rag-bag collection of folklore and old wives’ tales. He has devoted but a single illustrative chapter to the literature of witchcraft because, as he says, “the feats of the witches were not accomplished through knowledge of and control of nature”. Digests of works on theosophy and mystical knowledge are likewise cursory because “one does not care to stand for long on the quicksands of their reveries”. Interest and attention are concentrated instead upon those intellectual aspects of magical theory and practice which, as in Della Porta and others, purported to be based on “natural reasons and physical causes”. As a consequence the work has cut across many of the lines of scientific development of the period. Numerous chapters are, of course, devoted to alchemy, astrology, divination, and other forms of occult and mystical knowledge, but others are suggestive of more exemplary aspects of thought: “German Medicine” and “Medicine after 1550”; “Libavius and Chemical Controversy”; “The Sixteenth Century Naturalists”; “The Circle of Melanchthon” and “The Aftermath of Regiomontanus”; “The Copernican Theory” and “Post-Copernican Astronomy”. The last two in particular are admirable critical evaluations in which it is shown that “the dead weight of pedagogical tradition and inertia did far more to delay the spread and general acceptance of the Copernican hypothesis than any religious opposition to it”. Nevertheless, the scope of the work precluded the possibility of covering all aspects of scientific achievement. Philosophical book learning is stressed far more than the technological tradition or mathematical physics. *Probierebüchlein* and *Rechenbücher* are not included, and even the more definitely intellectual interests in this direction of Agricola and Stifel are but barely mentioned. In Italy, too, the practical arithmetic and technical methodology of Tartaglia and others receive no attention. Archimedes and Aristotle were, each within his sphere, unquestionably the greatest scientists of antiquity, but the former is cited only four times in the impeccable index as against almost a hundred times this number in the case of the latter. And among the more than seventeen hundred individuals to whom reference is

made one looks in vain for Commandino, translator of the works of Archimedes, or for Stevin, the most important representative of the Archimedean tradition. In view of the fact that the power of modern science is derived from the close association of theory with practice and of deduction with induction, it is pertinent to ask whether the virtual absence of these aspects from the present work may not be of fundamental significance for the history of scientific attitude and method. The author suggests in closing that the way was left open for mathematical and scientific method when, during the sixteenth century, magical procedures (although not occult virtues) were largely abandoned. It appears possible, however, that the roles of antecedent and consequent in this relationship might with equal justice be reversed—that a greater interest in problems inspired by the practical arts and suggested by the texts of Archimedes presaged the decline of resort to crasser forms of superstition.

Professor Thorndike hints in this work that, “having brought the reader through the wilderness to within sight of the promised land of modern science”, he hesitates to continue his investigation into the next century. It is most earnestly to be hoped that he will hesitate no longer. As long as science continues through constant self-criticism to slough off inconsistencies and irrelevancies, just so long may our author continue to illuminate the borderland between what in retrospect is seen to be the error of yesterday and what today sanguinely is called scientific truth.

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CARL B. BOYER.

The Ukraine: A History. By W. E. D. ALLEN. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xvi, 404. \$4.50.)

So rare are histories of the Ukraine, especially in English, that each new arrival makes at least some small contribution. Mr. Allen has culled the specifically Ukrainian material from the standard works on Russia, added some data derived from Ukrainian writers, and presented his findings in readable English. His book therefore provides a general view of Ukrainian history which may be useful as an introduction to the subject, particularly to the pre-Soviet period.

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Allen has chosen to elaborate on the early history of the Ukraine at the expense of the later years. A hundred pages are devoted to the *hetmen* from 1648 to 1708, and only about twenty pages to the Soviet period from 1921 to 1940. Interesting as Mazeppa's love for Maria Kochubei may be, no scholarly purpose is served by describing it much more fully than, for example, the efforts of the Soviet regime to replace the czarist policy of Russification with the policy of “Ukrainizing” political and cultural life. This lack of proportion is all the more regrettable because the events of the seventeenth century are already better known than the Ukraine of the last hundred years.

Mr. Allen's book also suffers from the free play of his bias. Although few writers on the Ukraine have been hailed as impartial, many of them have tempered their prejudices with scholarship more effectively than has Mr. Allen. His anti-Ukrainian leanings lead him to ridicule the Ukrainian national movement and frequently to underestimate its importance; but his Ukrainophobia is outweighed by his anti-Soviet feelings. The one Ukrainian leader he does not despise is Simon Petliura. Even though Petliura's reputation has done much to discredit Ukrainian nationalism, the author admires him because he consistently fought against the Soviet regime. For Soviet policies Mr. Allen has nothing but contempt.

Factual errors are plentiful in the book, especially in the part not drawn from reliable secondary sources. Mr. Allen, for example, stresses the role of Kaganovich, Postishev, and Kossior as "dictators" in the Ukraine. According to his book, Kaganovich dominated the Ukraine from 1927 to 1933, Postishev from 1933 until he gave way to "a certain Kossior" at some vague date after 1934 (pp. 326-27). Actually, Kaganovich left the Ukraine in 1928, when Kossior—who had been one of the outstanding leaders in the Ukraine since 1917—became first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist party, a position he held until 1938; and from 1928 to 1937 Postishev was subordinate to Kossior. Such slips may be mere carelessness, but some errors appear to result from prejudice. In his efforts to discredit the collectivization of agriculture, for example, Mr. Allen finds that before the Revolution, the Left-bank Ukraine was largely a country of "large peasant farms covering 10, 20, 30 and as much as 50 hectares" (p. 351). The statistics of the imperial government, however, show that in 1905 the peasants who owned more than 10 hectares constituted less than a fifth of all the peasants, even of those who owned land. Likewise, the author's handling of official statistics indicates that Jews form a larger percentage of Communist party members and of students in the higher educational institutions than do Ukrainians (p. 322); but the latest statistics available to scholars actually reveal that the Ukrainians constituted three fifths of the membership of the party in 1932 and the same proportion of students in the higher schools in 1936. Perhaps Mr. Allen has relied too much upon the services of assistants to whom his foreword acknowledges indebtedness. At any rate, the treatment of the Soviet period goes a long way toward weakening what otherwise is a useful account of the history of the Ukraine.

Washington, D. C.

HAROLD R. WEINSTEIN.

The Economic History of Liberia. By GEORGE W. BROWN. (Washington: Associated Publishers. 1941. Pp. ix, 366. \$3.00.)

RARELY has Liberia been considered by scientifically trained historians or by scholarly writers in any special field. A few scholars have drawn Liberia into their picture of larger areas of West Africa. Most of the works

dealing specifically with Liberia fall within the class of books of travel and works of sentimental persons who initiated and stimulated that colonization project and of those who opposed that enterprise. *The Economic History of Liberia*, therefore, comes to us as something unusual.

Briefly told, the book treats of what Liberia is, how the natives reacted to the undertaking, how a transplanted parasitic capitalism affected the natives' system of self-sufficiency, and how the country has failed to advance more rapidly toward self-support. The author does not lose time in discussing in detail political differences and international squabbles. He is concerned mainly with the economic forces which account for these developments. In the beginning the colonists made the mistake of relying upon trade when they should have laid a firmer foundation by stimulating agriculture among the natives. When European nations entered upon their imperialistic program for Africa and opened trade routes which left Liberia out of the picture, the country had no resource but to borrow from nations which have driven such a hard bargain in their loan agreements as to impair the sovereignty of Liberia and to deprive the natives of land which they need for a new economy.

During these years the ruling class of Liberians, arrogating to themselves the privilege of living as slaveholding Americans among uncivilized natives, have developed no technique for uniting all Liberians for the common good. These lords have tried to wring their bread from the sweat of the natives' brow while leaving them in a backward state. The colonists hovered close to the coast in the all but impossible task of trying thus to superimpose a modern culture. The Liberian exploiters have resorted even to the imperialistic pattern of forced labor. The present incumbent in the presidency, seeing the errors of his predecessors, is now trying to develop a different native economy, "New Co-operative Schemes", from which may accrue sufficient in taxes to finance the government and pay off the foreign loans.

The author has a much better opinion of the uncivilized natives than of their so-called Christian rulers. The latter have talked much about the modernization of Liberia, but the effort has been a sort of trading that did not actually develop trade, a Christianization which has not thoroughly Christianized the natives, an educational endeavor which has not enlightened any considerable number of the tribesmen. Consequently the fusion of cultures still remains as an unfinished task.

At present, therefore, Liberian economy is the resultant of three systems, "the self-sufficient economy of the African, the parasitic capitalism of the ruling class of Liberia, and the financial exploitation of the American and European industrialists", such as Firestone (p. 231). These systems, says the author, are not separate and distinct. While both the parasitic capitalism and the financial exploitation merge into and conflict with each other, both

rest and feed upon the native economy. Under these circumstances, the author believes, the native economy will perish. It is the native who must still contrive by primitive methods to earn a living and sufficient to pay the taxes to sustain the government and pay off loans obtained without his consent. The outcome of a nationally balanced economy is speculative inasmuch as it depends upon the success of the "New Co-operative Schemes", a modified form of African self-sufficiency.

The author does not leave the impression that Liberia is worthless. He made a careful study of its resources. He discusses the communal ownership of land and the availability of land for natives. He treats further of roads for communication, villages, house construction, the cultivation of the soil, crops, fruits, cattle, and game. He gives also a picture of the industrial arts, the markets, tribal education, religious practices, festivities, and secret societies. The country, moreover, has such undeveloped resources as beds of granite, quartz, mica, hematite, iron, gold, lead, silver, diamonds, tin, zinc, aluminum, and *probably* many rare metals. There abound also forests of valuable timber—above all, mahogany, ebony, and teak. With proper leadership this country has many possibilities. The policy hitherto followed, however, must give way to a new program.

*Association for the Study of
Negro Life and History.*

C. G. WOODSON.

Law without Force: The Function of Politics in International Law. By GERHART NIEMEYER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 408. \$3.75.)

THIS book should be read by all those who are thinking seriously of the future of international law, of the world order, or of the human race. The author has burrowed into history and has tried to think things through. The facts and the potentialities involved in his problems are so great that it will not be surprising if most of his readers find gaps in the net which he has tried to throw around them.

The historical sections are on the whole the most interesting. International law originated in the sixteenth century world still convinced of scholastic ethics. The clergy still constituted a powerful estate whose united influence was able to give life to the international law of Victoria and Suárez. While clerical influence declined in the seventeenth century, the rising aristocracies and dynasties were glad to be able to invoke international law against the lower classes. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the third estate became powerful and international. It developed international law to protect the interests of commerce even in time of war.

The totalitarian states of the twentieth century, however, have tended to liquidate the last of the medieval estates, and international law, having no powerful world group to defend it, has collapsed. The idea that an effective

international law must rest on a supranational class provides food for thought. Might not the fourth estate of intellectuals, the press, and the radio commentator eventually provide such a class?

As a functionalist, Niemeyer thinks international law cannot be saved unless it can find a function in a world of states which acknowledge no principle, power, or class of value superior to themselves. With such an assumption the task appears to be a hopeless one. If there is no source of "rights" apart from the sovereign state, it is indeed difficult to see how there can be an international law. It has been made sufficiently clear that the consent of the sovereign state cannot in itself provide a basis for positive law. There must be a superior authority imposing the duty to observe promises.

It would appear, however, that Niemeyer does not inquire sufficiently whether the trend toward totalitarianism is bound to continue. Must law rest upon a trend which began less than a century ago and has dominated in any area for less than a generation?

Here seems to be a difficulty in the functional approach as interpreted by Niemeyer. That approach depends upon a determination of the ends of society, the ends which are "real" and deducible from contemporary history.

Must "reality" be circumscribed by such narrow limits of time and space? It would seem that a jural law which is to *control* behavior must find its ultimate objectives in a subject matter broader than that which it seeks to control. If it does not, it becomes merely a somewhat rationalized history. It records but does not control.

This is not to reject the functional approach to law. Law must indeed serve interests which exist. As Niemeyer points out: "A scientific investigation of real conditions and of the laws governing real action should be instrumental in reaching practical decisions with respect to those conditions and actions" (p. 379). But jural law deals not only with what is but with what, in the jural consciousness of the society, ought to be. It must consult "reality" in both the empirical and the Platonic senses in deciding what conditions and what laws are "real". It must utilize data far beyond those conditions and objectives which figure largest in current propaganda and legislation.

While it is not easy to ascertain the author's meaning of that exceptionally ambiguous word "real", it appears that he does not believe that interests can be qualified by that adjective unless they have achieved the degree of coercive organization represented by the state. Thus he poses the alternatives of either a world state enforcing world law or national states observing only those rules which assist their own policy. He regards the world state as both improbable and undesirable (p. 386). Consequently he interprets the function of international law in terms of the second alternative. As a "law without force" it must not seek to curb the state. "It must not restrict governments, but enable them to function in the service of necessary organiza-

tional tasks. Thus a period characterized by the ascendancy of politics over private affairs requires a system of international law which operates not as a restrictive, but as an enabling order of political functions" (p. 98).

Since the major political objective of the states seems to have been to increase their power as much as they could, it might seem that such a law would function only to facilitate the conquest of all states by one, except insofar as a balance of power might prevent. It would, in short, be an elimination of jural law as an influence in international relations. Niemeyer's functional "law without force" therefore differs little from John Austin's "international law", which is not law at all. It goes further, however, because while Austin recognized a "public international morality", which states ought to observe, the new functionalism seems to free states from even moral restraints.

Niemeyer's contempt for the idea of international organization and his effort to expose the "federalistic fallacy" resting upon a division of sovereignty (p. 382) indicate, in the reviewer's judgment, an overnarrow concept of law. Practical men recognize that in attempting to realize abstract logic they may lose all. Effective systems of law rest on judgments which compromise interests and sustain equilibria. However much both jurists and judges may seek to deduce their systems from absolute principles, they never succeed. The process of law must be a process of continuous adjustment to life. At times in modern history an international law has existed which has given practical recognition to the major interests of individuals, of nations, and of the world as a whole and, in order to do so, has maintained practical limitations upon lesser aspects of the freedom or sovereignty of individuals, of nations, and of the family of nations. The essence of a secure freedom is a wise appreciation of the limits to which the freedom of others necessarily subjects it. Such a law seems to have little place in Niemeyer's philosophy.

"What we ought to do", he quotes approvingly from John MacMurray, "is to wait and be quiet; to stop our feverish efforts to do something. The next word is not with us, but with reality" (p. 402). It is to be feared that if this advice were followed the "reality" might assume the physiognomy of someone who cares nothing for either John MacMurray's philosophy, for international law, or for civilization, as it has been envisaged by mankind during the past centuries. It seems clear, however, that democracy is not following this advice. It has not yet abandoned the conviction that the "reality" of the future lies with those who have the faith, the wisdom, and the energy to make it.

University of Chicago.

QUINCY WRIGHT.

Atrocity Propaganda, 1914-1919. By JAMES MORGAN READ. Published for the University of Louisville. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 319. \$3.50.)

THIS volume adds another to the long list of books on propaganda. To

the sins of propaganda itself a satiated public may add the unending flood of books good, bad, and muddy about propaganda. To increase the number needs a healthy excuse, especially for a volume that resurrects all the atrocity stories and attempts to differentiate between an atrocity and an atrocity story. The thesis of this volume is that Section VII of the Versailles Treaty, dealing with "Penalties", was prepared in a climate of opinion created by atrocity stories in the European countries to the circulation, if not origin, of which governments and newspapers had contributed. Further, "Propaganda of atrocities . . . might be said to have contributed more than any other single factor to the making of a severe peace." It might be said, of course, but as the more lurid of the penalties of Section VII were never enforced and other sections were and have been explained by other and less spectacular reasons, it might not be said. Any reader who does not want to wade through all the gory details could read with interest the chapter on the notorious cases and the two-page conclusion. As to the climate of opinion back of the treaty and of the acceptance of atrocity stories, that was set by the violation of Belgium and the ruthless logic of war as the German (Prussian) militarism had built it up since Frederick the Great invaded Silesia. It resulted in an idea of international law and justifiable military measures by an armed land power quite different and shocking to a country where the navy was the chief arm and its traditions dominated. The Germans could make no stories about the atrocities of the British navy stick even though for a century they had harped on the bombardment of Copenhagen. When the Germans took to the high seas, their attitude toward belligerents was derived from the ruthlessness of a land army. This is illustrated not only by submarine warfare against unarmed civilian vessels but strikingly in this book by their trial of the English captain of a merchant vessel who, when attacked by a German submarine, defended himself by trying to ram the submarine. The Germans tried and shot him as "a franc-tireur of the sea". The *Lusitania* was sunk by a navy with a Prussian military philosophy of the nature of war. This kind of navy was something new and horrifying and in the end meant destruction of all international law of the high seas built up by nations depending on the navy and sea-borne trade. This thesis of two conflicting international laws should at least be considered by anyone who sets out to explain the climate of opinion in a war where modern Germany is a participant. It excuses no atrocities, but it may help explain why her opponents in a war are in no judicial mood to discriminate the actual from the alleged atrocities. Add to the events before 1914 certain brutal incidents in Alsace-Lorraine and the picture the European world had of William II, based on his own rash utterances and saber rattling, and you have a better historical approach to the indiscriminate acceptance of atrocity stories.

Washington, D. C.

GUY STANTON FORD.

Versailles: Storia della conferenza della pace. By AUGUSTO TORRE. (Milan: Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale. 1940. Pp. 433. 25 l.)

THE passage of two decades and the continued shocks of recurrent crises during the last few years have served to provide perspective and detachment toward the events of the Great War and the settlements that were its outcome. These settlements are beginning to be the object of sound historical analysis.

The complete story of the Peace Conference of 1919 has yet to be told; a fully documented account will not be contained within the compass of a volume such as this. In fact the most serious criticism of Torre's study is the meagerness of his sources, which are sometimes accepted too uncritically. There is neither bibliography nor index. No mention is made of Temperley's pioneer work or even of Miller's invaluable collection. Nor has any use been made of the study, available since 1938, of Italy's role. As against this, personal memoirs are almost exclusively drawn upon; indeed a somewhat more generous use might have been made of quotation marks (*e.g.*, p. 245). Lloyd George's memoirs, especially, are drawn upon; they are no doubt of the highest importance, but the work of such a master colorist can be used only with the greatest of caution.

Appropriately, the book opens with a survey of the wartime treaties and peace programs. The author rightly points out that the German armistice was essentially an unconditional surrender but insists upon the obligation assumed by the Allies in regard to the peace. He stresses the contrast between the American and the European approaches; the latter "thought conflicts inevitable and wanted, therefore, to be in a position to meet them under the best possible conditions" (p. 49). The role of France looms large from the fact that she was the principal representative of this point of view. When the issue came to a head, it was essentially resolved on the basis of a test of power, and Clemenceau yielded on the Rhineland in exchange for the paper guarantee of the Anglo-Saxon powers.

A test of power likewise was to decide the Italian controversy, and here the author is less clear-sighted, complaining of the unfriendliness of Italy's associates while pointing out at the same time the possibilities, implicit in a realization of the Italian program, of a policy which might eventually be directed against her allies (compare pp. 304, 306). The British and the French were well aware of these possibilities.

Within such limitations, Torre's work is a well-organized exposition, probably as fair and balanced a picture of the Peace Conference as exists at the present time. Outside the restricted sector of her own immediate interests, Italy tended from the very beginning to take a relatively detached, hence more balanced, view of the peace settlement with Germany, and the book is essentially free of the official views since fostered in Italy.

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RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ.

Holmes-Pollock Letters: The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Sir Frederick Pollock, 1874-1932. Edited by MARK DEWOLFE HOWE, Professor of Law, University of Buffalo School of Law. With an Introduction by John Gorham Palfrey. Two volumes. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xxii, 275; 359. \$7.50.)

THIS correspondence was initiated by a letter from Pollock dated July 3, 1874, and is concluded by one from Holmes dated May 15, 1932. The early exchanges deal almost entirely with legal topics. In the opening one Pollock agrees "that the only definition of law for a lawyer's purposes is something which the Court will enforce"—which puts a later famous, and considerably overworked, conception in its true setting. This original limitation of interest is soon broken over, however, and Volume II contains many letters in which no legal topic is mentioned; or if it is, it is overshadowed by matters of broader interest, particularly talk about books.

Indeed the principal entertainment afforded by these volumes is to be credited to this literary chit-chat, and in this field Holmes, with his general attitude of intellectual detachment, his avowed preference for *aperçus* and distaste for systems, and his gift of epigrammatic expression, shines supreme. Nevertheless, whenever a solid job of criticism is demanded Pollock's superior learning is equal to a very workmanlike job. See, *e.g.*, his devastating review of Sumner's *Folkways* (II, 245-49). Incidentally, one is astonished at the gaps which Holmes from time to time confesses in his reading. Apparently he did not read the *Leviathan* till he was fifty-two, nor the *Ethics* till he was sixty-five, nor the *Politics* till he was sixty-three or sixty-four, nor the *Oceana* till he was past seventy-three, nor *The Prince* till he was seventy-eight; and the same year he "blushes to say" he has "never read Locke's Treatise on Government" (II, 22; August 21, 1919). These deficiencies seem to have touched his conscience profoundly, and we find him turning reluctantly but dutifully from the more pleasurable perusal of detective stories to make them up even after he is ninety!

The main value of the *Letters* as a historical source will be for the biographer of Holmes, who wears his heart on his sleeve, while the "tight-lipped" (Holmes's phrase) Pollock rather recedes into the background. The contrast in temperament between the sanguine American and the choleric Englishman appears constantly in these pages. One example is furnished by Holmes's effort to lure his correspondent into a less formal mode of address by addressing him as "Dear F.P.", "Dear Bart.", "My beloved Frederick", and even "Dear Fred". The device was unsuccessful; throughout Holmes to Pollock is simply "My dear Holmes", and in the end the latter gives over his gesture of camaraderie as a bad job. And while Holmes consistently closed his letters with "My love to Lady Pollock" and in fact frequently wrote her in affectionate terms, Pollock never once referred to

Mrs. Holmes, although it would seem that they must have met at one time or other.

Those who have read Professor Laski's fortunate *Collected Legal Papers* of Holmes already know the latter's *Weltanschauung* in outline, but these letters fill in the details. The instrumental relationship which he early discovered of the law to public interest was projected into a complete philosophy of life decades before the "Pragmatists" and "Instrumentalists" were heard of. His outlook, too, was strongly tinged by his narrow escape from death on the battlefield before he had had "his chance". Thus Melville's *Moby Dick*, with its moral of the constant menace of brute force to human values, appealed to him intimately (II, 68, 277). He is here, in short, the complete humanist which his famous essay on "Natural Law" also reveals. "I see nothing", he wrote on August 30, 1929, "behind the force of reason except that *ich kann nicht anders*—and I don't know whether the cosmos can or not" (II, 251). Pollock wished to "amend *ICH kann nicht anders* into *MAN kann nicht anders*" (*ibid.*, p. 255), but Holmes rejected the idea. "The 'I can't help' is the ultimate" (*ibid.*).

Another biographical detail of some importance is the necessity Holmes was always under of conserving his strength. Even at forty-three he thinks of himself as "venerable", and he describes "adequate vitality" as "a divine thing" (I, 24, 73). Nor can his deep-rooted conservatism escape the reader of these volumes. "What do the luxuries of the few amount to?", he asks. "I believe them to be a drop in the bucket. The luxuries that really impinge upon the necessities are the luxuries of the many, e.g., the Churches. And if you abolished them, do you doubt that the addition would be expended at once in more population? I don't" (II, 47)—which is pretty robust Malthusianism for 1920. (See also I, 152, 163, 166-67, 176, 186, 194, 237, II, 25, 47, and 309; but *cf.* II, 28.)

While Pollock's contribution to the interest of these pages is to the American reader secondary, it is still substantial. There is "no liberty of the subject in time of war within the realm", he declares (I, 205). He writes learnedly and pleasingly on "Sovereignty" (II, 25-27) and on the origin of five o'clock tea (*ibid.*, p. 59). He controverts the "economic interpretation of history" (Brooks Adams "worked that line to death about thirty years ago", *ibid.*, p. 223), and he confutes Holmes's prejudiced remarks about codes and his peculiar theory of breach of contract (I, 8, 79-80). He points out the fallacy of assuming "that the ordinary rules of historical evidence will hold in an atmosphere of credulity" (II, 239-40). He defends persuasively (as has Professor Holdsworth) Montesquieu's picture of the British constitution of that period (*ibid.*, p. 265). He asserts that "all is fair in quotation and especially of tags" (*ibid.*, p. 285).

Professor Mark DeWolfe Howe, the editor of the *Letters*, is scrupulous to indicate editorial excisions, which are fairly numerous, and has other-

wise done an admirable job. The chirography of the distinguished correspondents must have been rather fearful at times, especially that of Holmes, who was fond of abbreviations; and once or twice Mr. Howe appears to have guessed wrong. "Lester Ford" (I, 186) should probably be not Paul Leicester Ford, but Lester Ward; and "love, portions" (II, 158) should doubtless be love potions.

Princeton University.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

Land Tenure Policies at Home and Abroad. By HENRY WILLIAM SPIEGEL, Assistant Professor of Economics, Duquesne University. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 171. \$3.00.)

THE new feudalism of central Europe, with its re-establishment of primogeniture, has dramatically demonstrated the historical roots of modern land tenure. With an eye to contemporary problems Dr. Spiegel has endeavored to survey the legal background of land tenure in the United States and to provide an exposition and analysis of land tenure policies which have been developed in recent years both in this country and in Europe, principally in Great Britain and Germany.

As the emphasis of this study is upon the contemporary scene, the space allotted to background and development has been necessarily brief and based exclusively upon secondary authorities. He who seeks information on such subjects of historical interest as quitrents, headrights, pre-emption, and homesteading will not find them adequately treated in this volume. In discussing inheritance of land the author singles out Pennsylvania for colonial leadership in observing divisible succession, whereas the New England colonists had distributed intestate lands in this way for several generations prior to the founding of that colony. He correctly points out that primogeniture was the prevailing rule of descent in the Southern colonies but does not take into account the fact, brought out in the studies of Dr. Keim and, more recently, of Professor Susie M. Ames, that the Virginia planters very frequently ignored the custom in disposing of property by will. Dr. Spiegel is under the erroneous impression that entails were abolished in Great Britain by the reform legislation of 1925. As a matter of fact, primogeniture still prevails in fee tail in that country.

The author is on more substantial ground in his exposition of contemporary land problems. Among those ably analyzed in this volume is that of farm tenancy. Dr. Spiegel is sympathetic with Federal action to improve the terms of leases and enable tenants to buy farms they now rent. He contends that the modern English doctrine of tenure, which denies the proprietor an absolute right in his fee, has facilitated the growth of government interference with the landlord-tenant relationship and helps to explain the present tendency which he observes in that country toward national ownership. He distinguishes between the present land policy of Germany,

directed toward a war autarchy, and the traditional type of intervention, aimed at the protection of agriculture as an end in itself. There are ever-increasing signs that Germany's attempt to attain agricultural self-sufficiency by this means has failed. Both on historical and economic grounds the author's criticism of contemporary tendencies abroad and at home to restrict egalitarian inheritance is well substantiated.

City College, New York.

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

New Liberties for Old. By CARL L. BECKER. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. xvii, 181. \$2.00.)

The Defense of Freedom: Four Addresses on the Present Crisis in American Democracy. By EDMUND EZRA DAY, President of Cornell University. Introduction by CARL L. BECKER, John Wendell Anderson Professor of History in Cornell University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1941. Pp. 63. \$1.25.)

Democracy in American Life: A Historical View. By AVERY CRAVEN. [Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 149. \$1.00.)

What is Democracy? By CHARLES E. MERRIAM. [Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.] (*Ibid.* Pp. xi, 114. \$1.00.)

Aspects of Democracy: The Defense Lecture Series of Louisiana State University. Edited by ROBERT BECHTOLD HEILMAN. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1941. Pp. 114. 50 cents.)

DEMOCRACY is being discussed as never before, and by millions of individuals. Values and meanings are given attention. The place of democracy in history, and more and more the relationship to other forms of thought, types of society, and organizations for action, occupy the minds of thoughtful citizens. Inevitably scholars have been asked to express their views; sometimes they have volunteered to do so. Not always has it been clear that, as scholars, they had contributions to make to the general enlightenment, but as individuals much in public view they have been listened to and often quoted. It has become clear that some scholars have been at work upon this search for the facts and meanings of democracy for a generation and more and that their conclusions and observations are of particular value at this time of general discussion.

The books placed before us for review are all collections of essays, lectures, or public addresses and are to be considered as such. With a single exception they do not present us a closely knit historical narrative. There are no new discoveries, but there are relationships, interpretations, and "long views" of value to the student of history.

In *New Liberties for Old* Carl Becker talks to us of the effect of events upon his thinking and upon his view of his own body of information—for the period covered by the composition of the essays, which were published

in 1936-41. Genially he argues with those of opposing "opinions", and gleefully he pushes them to unexpected conclusions. In recommending these essays to those who need the light of reason upon their conceptions of basic principles, it would be well to exclude those lacking in sense of humor and perhaps ill equipped with a reading knowledge of philosophy and literature. They might be baffled; particularly by the essays, "Loving Peace and Waging War" and "Some Generalities that Still Glitter". Members of the American Historical Association will recognize the third essay as a paper read at the Philadelphia meeting of the Association and published in *The Constitution Reconsidered*.

Professor Becker writes an introduction for President Day's addresses, *The Defense of Freedom*, each of which deals with some phase of American democracy. In listing the dangers to democracy President Day argues that the dangers from within—rather than from without—pose for us the ever-present dilemma of democracy. This was asserted by Dr. Day in February of 1939, and this basic prophecy is not forgotten in the addresses that follow, in which he considers "A Comprehensive Program of National Defense", "Character Implications of the Present Social Situation", and "The Discipline of Free Men".

Avery Craven in *Democracy in American Life* states that he "makes no pretense whatsoever to new approaches or new materials" and that the lectures are published "for the general reader and not for the special scholar in the field". However, in discussing "Thomas Jefferson and the Democratic Dogma", "The West and Democracy", "Democracy and the Civil War", and "Democracy and Industrial Capitalism", Professor Craven has presented the best short narrative account that this reviewer has seen. Closely knit, finely argued, and bravely stated, this summary deserves wide reading. However generally the conclusions in chapters I and III are accepted, it is probable that chapters II and IV will lead to debate—and, perhaps, a re-statement by the author.

In the same series of lectures at the University of Chicago, Professor Merriam addresses himself to the question, *What is Democracy?* Parts of the material are taken from other books of the author, *Prologue to Politics* and *The New Democracy and the New Despotism*, permission having been granted for their inclusion here. Summarizing his long experience in study of political and social trends, Merriam concludes that "America is just beginning. America is in the process of making a democratic future."

Aspects of Democracy comprises a series of twelve essays, originally radio talks given by twelve members of the faculty before student convocations at the Louisiana State University. They cover a wide range; most of them lean heavily upon the very familiar facts of our history and of the history of western Europe. Only one contributor definitely states his belief that indoctrination is essential to the safety of democracy.

Stanford University.

EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON.

The Armed Forces of the Pacific: A Comparison of the Military and Naval Power of the United States and Japan. By Capt. W. D. PULESTON, U. S. N. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 273. \$2.75.)

CAPTAIN Puleston's instructive little volume advances the thesis that the United States possesses the naval power necessary to defeat Japan. He would not find unanimity of support among his fellow naval officers, but he sets forth his contentions with a good deal of assurance. He believes that with the outbreak of hostilities we should seize and keep the offensive with a view to achieving complete destruction of the Japanese fleet. "The American fleet", he says, "belongs to a continental nation that can risk it in battle without risking the national security. . . . The Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese fleet would fight knowing that the defeat of his fleet would seal the doom of his country" (p. 242). Captain Puleston is convinced that this psychological handicap might well cause fatal paralysis in Japanese strategy and tactics.

Captain Puleston's case rests upon two assumptions: first, that British naval power will continue to be the first line of defense for the United States in the Atlantic; second, that the entire American navy will operate against Japan. Writing in the winter of 1941, he felt that there was little if any justification for the transfer of units of the fleet from the Pacific to the Atlantic. But the fact is that such transfers—probably substantial transfers—have now been made because of the exigencies of the North Atlantic patrol. On the other hand, Captain Puleston wrote before the capture of Crete proved (what the Norwegian campaign foretold) that land-based aircraft operating offshore or in narrow seas can inflict cruel punishment on the most powerful fleet and on the sea-borne communications of an expeditionary force. It is quite possible that, despite the transfer of powerful units of the fleet from the Pacific to the Atlantic, an Anglo-American predominance of strength might be established in the South China Sea by aircraft—especially long-range bombers—based on the Philippines, Singapore, and the Dutch East Indies. Should such be the case, the recent occupation of Indo-China makes Japan the more vulnerable. And should an effective British-American-Russian-Dutch coalition be brought into being, the position of Japan might be rendered really precarious. The test will be less on the military than on the production front. Can we produce thousands of bombers and produce them in time? The answer will depend partly upon the determination of the American people to resist further Japanese expansion, north or south.

American scholars, who as a group have underestimated the military factor in world politics, might well consider the role of naval power in the future drama of the Far East. Captain Puleston is at times uncritical and perhaps unduly optimistic. But he makes a good appraisal of the American and Japanese navies—personnel, organization, command, armor, weight of

metal, and concepts of strategy. This is a useful manual which deserves to be on the reference shelves of students of international relations.

Institute for Advanced Study, August, 1941. EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Ancient Greeks: Studies toward a Better Understanding of the Ancient World. By WILLIAM KELLY PRENTICE, Professor Emeritus in Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Pp. viii, 254. \$3.00.)

THOUGH the author writes in the preface that this book is the result of some forty years of study and that its purpose is to present for a new consideration certain matters concerning the ancient Greeks, there are parts of the work that have appeared in print before. They include the following articles written and published by the author: "Thermopylae and Artemisium", *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LI (1920), 5-18 = Prentice, pp. 109-18; "The Fall of Aristocracies and the Emancipation of Men's Minds", *ibid.*, LVI (1925), 162-71 = Prentice, pp. 62-71 and 88-92; "How Thucydides wrote his History", *Classical Philology*, XXV (1930), 117-27 = Prentice, pp. 190-99. In each case a footnote is inserted somewhere in the passage referring to the article in question, but nowhere is the authorship of the article revealed, nor is the reader told that the text of the passage is practically word for word the same as the text of the article. Indeed in one case passages which appear *passim* in chapter vi, "Absolute Democracy", are taken from an article to which no reference is made and which was printed in 1916 (Prentice, "Absolute Democracy", *Unpopular Review*, V [1916], 332-48). The reader has the right to be told clearly whether what he reads is newly written or is taken from earlier publications of the same author.

Certain passages are even older than the articles mentioned above. The following are translations from Beloch: (1) Prentice, p. 69 ("The predominance of the great landowners . . . to escape this fate") = Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, Vol. I, Part 1 (2d ed., 1912), pp. 306-307 ("Dies Übergewicht der Grossgrundbesitzer . . . um diesem Schicksale zu entgehen"). A footnote, to be sure, refers the reader to Beloch, but the passage is not enclosed in quotation marks, and no indication is given that it is a direct translation from the German. The latter part of Beloch's text appears without acknowledgment as note 25 on page 69 in Prentice. (2) Prentice, p. 91 ("At the head of this movement . . . in accordance with fixed laws") = Beloch, p. 436 ("An der Spitze dieser Bewegung . . . dass alles in der Natur nach festen Gesetzen geschieht"). Part of Beloch's text is omitted in Prentice's translation. One sentence of it is enclosed in quotation marks and credited to Beloch. What follows appears to be a qualification by Prentice of

Beloch's statement. The fact is that Beloch qualifies his own statement. (3) Prentice, pp. 89, 90 ("In the days of the Homeric poets . . . a free gift of the gods") = Beloch, p. 315 ("Während der Zeit Homers . . . eine freie Gabe der Götter war"). Here no credit whatever is given to Beloch. Instead, Prentice introduces the translated passage with the words, "Curiously enough, *as it seems to me*" (italics inserted). The reviewer has made notes of a few other places where the author has taken in translation a shorter passage or sentence from another work and failed to use quotation marks, but space forbids their enumeration.

The references to Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Volume III, are, almost without exception, to the first edition (1901), and not to the second (1937). There are other instances in which earlier rather than later editions of standard works are cited.

It is a matter of regret that a man of such long and distinguished service should show such carelessness in the preparation of copy. But this book is written by a scholar and addressed to scholars and therefore must be examined in the light of the ordinary criteria of scholarly publication.

Ohio State University.

W. F. McDONALD.

Essays on Maimonides: An Octocentennial Volume. Edited by SALO WITTMAYER BARON, Professor of Jewish History, Literature, and Institutions on the Miller Foundation, Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 316. \$3.75.)

THIS volume, the publication of which was occasioned, as its subtitle indicates, by the world-wide celebration of the eight hundredth anniversary of the birth of Moses ben Maimon (1135-1204), is logically, though not actually, divided into two unequal parts. The first contains a number of addresses delivered by President Nicholas Murray Butler, Professors McKeon, Gottheil, and Baron at the octocentennial celebration at Columbia, as well as an anniversary lecture by Étienne Gilson of the Sorbonne, Paris, while the second consists of several lengthy articles on the leading phases of Maimonides's literary activity. The introductory remarks of President Butler dwell briefly upon the importance of Moses ben Maimon's contribution to intellectual progress by championing the cause of both reason and tolerance in a world in which dogmatism and fanatical belief prevailed. Notable among the other addresses are "Maimonides, the Philosopher" and "Homage to Maimonides" by McKeon and Gilson, respectively. The former notes three stages in the philosophy of Maimonides, the first dealing with the elucidation of the truths of tradition, the second with the rational proofs of the principles of belief, and the third with the practical consequences of philosophic discussion, namely the ethical implication. McKeon's division of the *Guide of the Perplexed* displays a penetrating insight into the philosophy of Maimonides and is correct in its general outline though it cannot

be applied in detail, for the *Guide* belongs to a class of books which defy any particular scheme.

The lecture of Gilson fully justifies its title, "Homage to Maimonides", for it gives a clear though succinct characterization of both the man and his contribution. The latter consists, according to the author, of two leading qualities of his thought. The first is a consideration of reason as a divine gift which constitutes man's very essence, and consequently, "every effort of reason to know the truth attests God's presence in us and may hence be rightly considered as on an equality with prayer". The second is Maimonides's great intellectual modesty, for in spite of his glorification of reason he acknowledges that there are certain things which cannot be attained by reason. This, however, does not posit a double system of truth; it merely asserts that human reason has its limitations, and beyond that we are to rely on a higher reason. Thus Maimonides, according to Gilson, strove not to reconcile faith with reason but to place each in its proper place.

Of the four articles of the second part the more imposing, both quantitatively and qualitatively, are "The Literary Character of the Guide" and "The Economic Views of Maimonides" by Professors Leo Strauss and Salo Baron, respectively. The title of the former is not entirely adequate, for it deals more with the method of Maimonides in expounding his teaching rather than with the literary character of the book as a whole. The main theses maintained by the author are: first, that the *Guide* is neither a philosophic book nor a work on theology, religion, or ethics but "one devoted to the explanation of the secret teachings of the Bible"; second, that the method employed by Maimonides in such explanation consists of numerous devices aimed more to conceal the secrets from the uninitiated than to reveal them, as such revelation is intended only for the few who can penetrate the mysteries of the method. We may agree with the second thesis, which is proved with much skill and learning, but we must take exception to the first, which is sustained more by dialectical arguments than by sound proof. The *Guide* is a work which aims, as Maimonides himself states in the introductory passage to the last two parts (II, 2), to solve many religious doubts, and all the above-mentioned problems fall under that category and are also included under the general title, *Secrets of the Bible*, the explanation of which Maimonides indicates several times to be the purpose of his treatise. I may also add that the laborious method employed by the author in order to arrive at the simple conclusions that the *Code* "is addressed to the general run of men, while the *Guide* is addressed to the few who are able to understand by themselves" is utterly unnecessary, for Maimonides says distinctly in his preface to the *Code* that he composed it in such a way "that all the laws should be understood by young and old". Similarly, he states definitely in his introduction to the *Guide* that it was written for those who are philosophically minded.

Baron's essay, covering 134 pages, is, in spite of its title, more a legal treatise than an economic one. This, however, does not minimize its value, for the mass of legal material gathered, its fine systematization, and the attempts of the author to correlate some of the deviations of Maimonides from Talmudic law with historical and economic conditions of his time and place afford the student a broad understanding of some phases of Jewish law in the process of adjustment to life.

It possesses one grievous fault, namely that Baron gives the impression that the laws were enacted by Maimonides himself and only based on Talmudic discussion, while in reality, with the exception of a few changes, they are merely restatements of Talmudic law in pure Hebrew instead of the Hebrew-Aramaic vernacular of the Talmud. This extends also to ethical statements where "Says Maimuni" introduces verbatim passages from the Talmud.

The other essays, "Maimonides' Treatise on Resurrection" by Joshua Finkel and "Maimonides' Medical Works" by Max Meyerhoff, each contribute to a better understanding of a phase of Maimonides's intellectual activity, especially the latter, written by a physician of note and an Arabic scholar. The extensive bibliography appended to Meyerhoff's essay enhances its value.

Hebrew Theological College, Chicago.

MEYER WAXMAN.

Studies in Medieval Thought. By G. G. COULTON, Fellow of St. John's and Hon. Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. [Discussion Books, General Editors, Richard Wilson and A. J. J. Ratcliff.] (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1940. Pp. vii, 229. 75 cents.)

THESE are interpretations rather than scholarly studies; and the late Professor Coulton, stern censor of medieval Christianity, acknowledges that the little book "is not in any sense a complete history of Medieval Thought". Nor is the *Studies* a new contribution to our knowledge of medieval civilization. Yet it is thought provoking even if it is in part a continuation—often a repetition—of the author's well-known interpretations and criticisms of life in the Middle Ages, this time with greater emphasis on the rational than on the practical life. In a series of informal essays we find discussions of "the Roman ancestry", the great influence of St. Augustine variously exerted in the Middle Ages and in the Protestant Reformation, the curious case of Gottschalk and the phenomenal John the Scot, the limitations on the development of learning, Abélard, John of Salisbury, the universities, Averroism, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, the mystics, the political theory of papal absolutism and the lay revolt, Wyclif, and Nicholas of Cues.

The conclusions drawn by Coulton are familiar to readers of his *Medie-*

val Panorama and *Inquisition and Liberty*. Once more some of the weaknesses of medieval civilization are stressed: extreme pessimism about salvation, the too dogmatic and disputatious character of Scholasticism, the prevalence of illiteracy, the relative neglect of mathematics and the natural sciences in the universities, the limitations on learning imposed by the church, and the great contrast between ideals and practice. Against A. N. Whitehead's applying to medieval thought the terms *reason* and *rational*, Coulton asserts that "it is less reasonable, less rational . . . to argue with impeccable logic from unverified premises, as the Scholastic so often did, than to argue less strictly from tried and trustworthy assumptions". Without agreeing with Whitehead, I would say that to the Scholastic his premises *were* tried and trustworthy assumptions, verified by revelation; medieval thinkers were remarkably like those of other ages: they used reason to justify dogmatic premises. But if Coulton is too pessimistic about the saving grace of the thirteenth century, his reiterated warnings against conversion are at least an antidote for aesthetic converts like T. S. Eliot and romantic Thomists like Mortimer J. Adler. His presentation of the "spotted actuality" is needed, too, so long as some church schools in our country prohibit the use of textbooks that mention any of the human failings of medieval Christianity. Be it said for Coulton, however, that he fully acknowledges a few of the great achievements of medieval thought in Thomas Aquinas, in the organization of universities which supplied church and state with lawyers and statesmen, and in the perfection of the weapons of logic and of the philosophic vocabulary. The main strength of medieval thought "was that it sought obstinately for an orderly Universe, beyond and above this disorderly earth", even though the "Procrustean method" of the Inquisition was used to obtain order and unity.

University of Wisconsin.

GAINES POST.

French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Mediæval France. By SIDNEY PAINTER. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 179. \$2.00.)

MR. PAINTER has written a delightful and useful book on one of the most important and elusive subjects in medieval history. The first chapter traces the social, economic, and military factors that formed the feudal class. The discussion of chivalry that follows is divided into three parts: feudal chivalry, religious chivalry, and courtly love. Each type had its values, values that were mutually exclusive. It is the great merit of the book that it demonstrates there were three chivalries, not one unified ideal.

Feudal chivalry extolled the qualities of bravery, strength, military skill, loyalty, generosity, ambition for loot and glory. Some very penetrating observations are made concerning the way in which these virtues were prac-

ticed. Mr. Painter reveals himself as a historian who really grasps social facts from the viewpoint of the society which produced them and not from the viewpoint of Victorian manners, which has blighted so many earlier studies. For example, Mr. Painter points out that the time-honored sneer at feudal loyalty is not deserved. In certain circumstances the breach of feudal contract was not frowned upon while in others the breach was considered heinous, and the honest historian will follow the opinion of contemporaries, not set up absolute standards of his own. "In short", concludes Mr. Painter, "I believe most nobles observed their feudal obligation to the extent that the common opinion of their class required."

The chapter on religious chivalry is a little disappointing. The views of John of Salisbury are described as containing the essential features of religious chivalry: the knight should protect the church and police society in its behalf. The later elaborations of this ideal are too hazily outlined, except for the treatment of Raymond Lull. There are many crusade sermons, crusade treatises, and papal letters which indicate that the church's influence was more complex and far-reaching than the author seems to appreciate. I fully sympathize with the desire to get away from the long-lived romantic interpretation which portrays all medieval society as completely subordinated to a mystically exalted church that brought a golden age of peace and piety in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Mr. Painter shows that the nobles continued most stubbornly to enjoy their tournaments in spite of ecclesiastical thunder and that they could not forego booty, ransom, and other medieval pleasures at the request of prelates. Yet as long as knights took the cross, it seems inadvisable to underestimate the very real and potent influence of the church on their ideals of loyalty.

There can be nothing but praise for the chapter on courtly love. Here the matter is rich, the manner amusing. The development of the cult of the lady is traced with good sense, wit, and learning. Mr. Painter is properly cautious in making a clear distinction between the theory and the actual practices of the time, although he seems quite ready to believe that the ladies were far more effective than the church in polishing rough diamonds. It is certainly not difficult to believe that courtly love contributed most in the evolution of the uncouth warrior to the courteous and witty courtier.

Mr. Painter has done a real service in writing this little book, which contains more clear thinking on an extremely difficult subject than one is likely to find elsewhere. The brevity of the treatment is regrettable. There should be more and yet more. There is enough, however, to enlighten and even enliven any class in medieval history.

University of Michigan.

PALMER A. THROOP.

The Sources for the Life of S. Francis of Assisi. By JOHN R. H. MOORMAN, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Rector of Fallowfield, Manchester. With a Foreword by A. G. Little. [Publications of the University of Manchester.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 176. 12s. 6d.)

THIS is a work of careful and exact scholarship, designed for the serious student of the Franciscan legend rather than for those whose reading has not progressed beyond the *Fioretti*. In it the author makes a survey of available materials for the life of S. Francis and endeavors to establish their relations to each other and the value of each. The sources are well enough known: the *Opuscula*, a gathering of the writings of the saint himself; the two *Vitae* by Thomas of Celano, of which the first dates from 1229-31 and the second from 1247; the *Legenda trium sociorum*, a collection of reminiscences attributed to three of the original brethren, Leo, Angelo, and Rufino; the *Legenda maior*, written as the official biography by S. Bonaventura a generation after S. Francis's death; and, least reliable but most widely known and most influential, the *Fioretti*. Each of these Mr. Moorman submits to a thorough and searching examination in which he demonstrates his mastery of what were once widely known as the lower criticism and the higher. The figure of S. Francis is not forgotten in this study of our sources of knowledge; there is a good deal about the saint as well as about his biographers; but the author's chief concern is with our sources of knowledge.

There is a reconstruction of the *Regula primitiva* of 1210, with, curiously, an English translation. Special attention is given to the *Legend of the Three Companions*. It has long been known that the introductory letter belonged not to this legend but to an entirely different collection. Mr. Moorman makes a tentative reconstruction and prints a table of contents of what, he suggests, made up the original legend of Leo and his companions. Behind all the extant sources lay a Lost Document, he thinks, and he nominates as its probable author Brother Giles. All this is eminently worth while; but there is much more besides. His chief original contribution comes in connection with his study of the *Legenda trium sociorum*, when he advances the theory that the *Legenda* represents the earlier tradition and Celano the copy. Of this Dr. Little says in the foreword that "it may well prove to be the true solution". Perhaps it will not. But those who hesitate to accept the theory and who hold to the older view that the Companions based their account on Celano's must be prepared to overthrow the evidence that is set forth by Mr. Moorman shrewdly, skillfully, and in scholarly fashion.

Washington and Jefferson College.

A. H. SWEET.

English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century. By GEORGE CASPAR HOMANS, Instructor in Sociology and Late Junior Fellow, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 478. \$4.50.)

THIS picture of society in England in the thirteenth century differs somewhat in content and treatment from its numerous predecessors. It is the effort of a sociologist who has a very considerable knowledge of the facts about early English villages to construct a "conceptual scheme" of English society, as it was at a comparatively quiet moment in its history, in terms of the "science of sociology". It is a step, that is to say, toward specifying "the elements which societies of different kinds have in common" and a help in noting the part played by custom through its elements, "interaction, sentiment, and function". For some of us interest may lie in the facts given and the interpretation of them in relation to the society to which they belong rather than in wider theories about their relation to society in general. We may sometimes believe that common sense would get us as far as technical phrases and abstractions and that parallels with modern factories do not help us much in the understanding of medieval life. On the other hand, we may also believe that we must not be impatient of new lines of approach, especially in the case of a writer who has understanding of many aspects of life and treats his subject matter as a scholar should and with freshness and appreciation.

The life depicted is that in the champion country, as Dr. Homans prefers to call the open-field country. He adopts Professor Gray's mapping out of agrarian arrangements in England, and thus confining himself to one section of the country, he avoids direct treatment of some of the difficult problems of the border regions and gives a certain unity to his work. The material he uses is extensive; he has read many court rolls, printed and in manuscript, customals and other manorial material, and in addition much of the literary writers of medieval England and the Tudors who deal with agrarian life. He would perhaps have done better to read also more than appears of material used in the writings of other modern students and their commentaries on it, thereby adding to his own total amount of available material and also gaining the knowledge of the interpretations of other competent scholars. He might thus have avoided some errors and omissions. Borghs, for example, were not universal in Kent; there is more to be said about gavelkind, and also much more about commons, and surely further proof is needed for the somewhat improbable theory that there was always delay in the marriage of the heir until after the retirement from the farm management of the villein father. The intricacies and delicate shades of difference in economic conditions and tenure and status, as described, for example, by Maitland, show a complicated society, which, many of us may believe, cannot be safely depicted with quite such assurance.

Criticism of this kind seems a little ungracious when one reads some of

the delightful chapters like those, for example, on the husbandman's year, on the technique of ploughing, on the parish church. Here the writer brings us very near to the life of the people and makes his material seem alive, far removed from the cut and dried writing of some of the other writers in the field. In this regard, however, he does not surpass Mr. Bennett. The emphasis on family life, on troth plight, free bench, marriage, inheritance, partible and impartible, makes interesting if not always entirely convincing reading. It is clear that we must give to this study a real place in attempts to make the past live for us, and we must also, I think, remember that in that difficult region where economic history and legal thought and the study of sociology meet, the lines we necessarily draw are largely in our own minds and for our own convenience and not eternal lines of all-inclusive history.

South Hadley, Massachusetts.

N. NEILSON.

Beguines in Medieval Strasburg: A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life. By DAYTON PHILLIPS, Instructor in History, Stanford University. [Thesis, Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University.] (Stanford University: the author. 1941. Pp. ix, 252. \$1.00. Lithoprinted.)

THIS study is a fitting example of the influence of Austin Evans on scholarly researches concerning medieval heresy. It is an exhaustive survey of the social (and also economic) backgrounds of a religious movement. There are obvious omissions, notably the spiritual aspects of beguine life. Being based on the legal records of property transactions in Strasburg, the study manifests an unavoidable exaggeration of materialistic factors, which tends to eclipse the essentially religious aspects of the beguine movement. The author is not unaware of this; note, in his title, the restriction of the subject to "the social aspect" (in the reviewer's opinion, however, this should have been "the economic-social aspect"). Nor is the author unaware of religious factors (see pp. 29, 220). Nevertheless, the reader needs to remind himself often that a Strasburg beguinage was a religious institution and not merely a rooming house for spinster working girls.

The exact nature of beguinages and beguines is elusive, and the author has wisely adopted a broad and flexible interpretation, in keeping with which "beguine" appears, throughout the book, as a common noun, uncapitalized. This is significant, for the term denotes not a distinct sect, order, or religious institution but a mode of living adopted by women of various classes, with various modifications. Any unmarried woman dedicated to a life of chaste religiousness can be classified as a beguine. Surprisingly enough, even with this broad definition Strasburg, a city of about twenty thousand people, had only about three hundred beguines at the climax of the movement in the fourteenth century.

The chief scholarly value of Dr. Phillips's study is its massing of care-

fully sifted evidences relating to factors that have already been pointed out by scholars but without sufficient emphasis or documentation. He shows, in impressive detail, how the beguines of Strasburg, whether living in beguinages or as individuals, tended to settle around Dominican or Franciscan monasteries. Especially valuable are the maps showing the regional location of beguine houses in Strasburg and the charts showing the social classification of the beguines. For specialists, Dr. Phillips's work provides an exhaustive study of a specific region and period (Strasburg from about 1270 to 1400). For general readers, even though they may find the statistical sections rather burdensome, the well-written summaries give an excellent survey of social-economic conditions in a medieval city and an equally good example of recent trends in the study of medieval religious movements.

University of North Carolina.

LOREN C. MACKINNEY.

John Hus and the Czech Reform. By MATTHEW SPINKA. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1941. Pp. 81. \$1.50.)

THE author of this short monograph claims to have made use only of most of the modern Czech literature on the question of the dependence of Hus upon Wyclif. But as this is more than has been done by any writer in any language of western Europe in recent years, a great gain has been made. No English or American scholar can henceforth be excused for not being aware of the results of decades of very serious work by Czech scholars on the origin and development of Hus's thought. The bitter strictures of the late Johann Loserth on Hus's intellectual integrity are here shown to be completely unwarranted. Yet perhaps it is possible in this case to whip a dead horse. Loserth's accusations of plagiarism proved too much. He completely overlooked the basic fact that no people has ever followed and revered for five centuries a leader and hero solely for defending another man's ideas. The ideas which Hus preached so effectively struck a responsive chord in the heart of the Czech people, else they would never have shed their blood so willingly for decades after his death in defense of those doctrines and their protagonist's name. A great number of monographs and articles, beginning with Palacký's *Vorläufer des Hussitentums* (published under the name of Dr. J. P. Jordan in 1846) and including such classics as Vl. Kybal's *Matěj z Janova* (Prague, 1905), makes this amazing continuity of Czech antiecclesiasticism a commonplace of Czech historiography. We would have been grateful for an elaboration of this fact. For it is precisely this continuity which makes the details of identity of any of Hus's specific statements with those of Wyclif of relatively little importance by comparison with the fact that for almost a century before Wyclif's works were known Czech allegiance to these ideals was manifest.

A few minutiae in the book call for remark. More attention could profitably have been given to Hus's use of Wyclif's philosophical works. It is asserted on page 20 that Wyclif knew the writings of Marsiglio of Padua.

There is no positive evidence of this knowledge. It would, furthermore, hardly have been possible for Wyclif to hold the political views of both Ockham and Marsiglio, which in many important respects are quite divergent. It is surprising to read that Wyclif's "philosophical writings were freely used at many universities as textbooks" (p. 35). It is also very doubtful that Hus decided to accept the safe-conduct in the spring of 1414 (p. 51). No evidence is adduced for so early a decision, nor indeed do I know of any. The Council of Constance deposed only two popes, not three (p. 62). The definitive edition of the *Relatio* of Peter of Mladeňovič (Václav Novotný, Prague, 1932) would have been useful in treating some of the details of the trial. For documents found in both Palacký's *Documenta* and Novotný's *Korespondence a Dokumenty* reference should also have been given to Palacký, as Novotný's edition is unfortunately rather rare in America.

Though the modesty of the aims of the author disarms criticism, yet several important omissions in his Czech and Slovak bibliography should be noticed: J. Kvačala, *Wiklef a Hus ako Filozofi* (*Věstník král. české společnosti nauk*, Prague, 1924), and a whole series of studies by the late Dr. Jan Sedlák, published in *Hlídky* (Brno), 1912-14, on the controversies between Hus and his Czech opponents, particularly Pálec.

University of Colorado.

S. HARRISON THOMSON.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Catherine of Aragon. By GARRETT MATTINGLY. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1941. Pp. 477. \$3.50.)

It is a tribute to author, publisher, and the reading public that this book has become a best seller. As a biography for the lay reader (its primary purpose) it is an absorbing and exciting piece of writing. As a work of scholarship it is the first critical and carefully conceived account which we have had of Catherine's career. The result is further proof of Allan Nevins's contention that American biographical writing "consistently outruns historical writing" in avoiding the extremes of pedantry and popular romance.

In studying the history of the Spanish embassy in Tudor England, it was borne in upon Mr. Mattingly that Catherine was "a different person, more cultured and thoughtful, more forceful and decisive" than the one he had read about elsewhere, and that the key "to much of what went on in England for a third of a century lay in the personality and decisions of this queen". He has succeeded splendidly in restoring her figure to "something like what her contemporaries saw"; and if he appears to overemphasize her influence upon English foreign and domestic policy, it is not for lack of critical caution in his judgments but because of the inevitable limitations of the biographical approach.

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If Pollard's is still the standard interpretation, Mr. Mattingly is writing "revisionist" history. He refuses to view the early sixteenth century through the perspective of "new forces" which triumphed years afterward. He insists upon the multiple possibilities involved in each developing situation, the contemporaneous sense of dilemma and decision, the conscious motives as well as the impersonal forces which were present at any given moment. The result is a remarkably successful fusion of the familiar devices of the popular biographer—crisp character portraiture, dramatic narrative, shrewd guesses as to what was going on in the chief actors' minds at particular moments, frequent speculations upon "what might have been"—with the scholar's aim of re-creating the slow development of Catherine's personality by never assuming the inevitability of the ultimate outcome either of her own tragic career or of Tudor history in general. Some readers may regret the space devoted to pageantry and portraiture. But even specialists will be interested in the often unorthodox solutions of some of the classic historical problems of the time—solutions which are generally based upon a fresh reading of character.

Although his narrative is based mainly upon wide and discriminating use of the printed sources, Mr. Mattingly proves the value of his having consulted many of the original manuscripts at Vienna, Brussels, and elsewhere (it was impossible for him to visit Simancas). Fresh interpretations are offered of Wolsey's foreign policy and of the colorful careers of the Spanish ambassadors to the first two Tudors, particularly Puebla, Fuensalida, and Chapuys. The treatments of Catherine's connections with humanism, Chapuys's encouragement of English sedition in 1534, and the significance of Cromwell's "revolution" are models of lucid analysis and exposition. And there are suggestive remarks about the relations of propaganda, terror, and public opinion during the breach with Rome. This reviewer would question certain judgments, such as the statement that Catherine had transferred her "final allegiance" from Spain to England by 1514 (p. 165) and the direct comparison of humanist and Protestant faith in enlightenment (pp. 189-90). But he would recommend the book to any member of the profession who likes his scholarship spiced with irony, pathos, and human understanding.

The publishers have provided an exceptionally attractive format. There are eight well-chosen illustrations, an informative "note about sources", twenty pages of references at the back of the book, and a good index.

Princeton University.

HARRIS HARBISON.

Bernardino Ochino esule e riformatore senese del Cinquecento, 1487-1563.

[By] ROLAND H. BAINTON, della Yale University. Versione dal manoscritto inglese di ELIO GIANTURCO. [Biblioteca Storica Sansoni, Nuova Serie.] (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, Editore. 1940. Pp. x, 213. 25 l.)

THIS volume marks the completion of the third milestone of a journey

started twenty years ago, when Professor Bainton began the study of four victims of religious intolerance. Castellio was the subject of a volume in the Columbia University Records of Civilization in 1935, and David Joris of an *Ergänzungsband* of the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* in 1937. These two, with the Ochino before us and the Servetus which is still in manuscript, make up the tetralogy. If all four are subjects for the student of the history of persecution, each has an interest all his own, consisting of his reaction to persecution. In the vicissitudes of the Italian, as compared with those of the Frenchman and the Dutchman and the Spaniard, the singular facts are his emergence from obscurity when well past the meridian of life and his retention of the spotlight for more than two decades, in which time the curtain is never withdrawn, so far as the record goes, to afford a glimpse of his early training and experience. "Il Savonarola del Cinquecento", as the author calls him, Ochino traversed the path of Luther from the cloister to the domestic hearth; yet no swelling tide of national resentment at Rome called him to be a national leader. He remained in exile as in Italy the preacher who could make the stones weep, as Charles V said. He was no Luther, and if he ever essayed the political role of a Savonarola, it was at Augsburg, where he was accused of having fomented the revolt of 1547.

This study is concerned above all with the thought of Ochino as exhibited in his works, all written in Italian. He combats predestination as a "successor of Scotus and of Ockam" but was influenced also by the humanist attitude of indulgence toward pious pagans (pp. 121-22). Distinguishing between essentials and nonessentials in religion, he condemns the burning of heretics for beliefs which they did not consider essential (p. 128). The fundamental incompatibility between him and Calvin was that between a Franciscan mystic and one who discounted such revelation, though not averse to the effectiveness of emotional appeal (pp. 72-73). At Zurich, Ochino found church and state linked, and the pastors (of whom he was one, as shepherd of the Italian church) committed to the Zwinglian system. But he defended the Anabaptists, he disapproved the armed resistance of the French Huguenots, he antagonized the Calvinists by relegating the whole question of the Real Presence to the category of nonessentials, and he offended the Lutherans by championing the Zwinglian point of view against Westphal. His expulsion from Zurich was ostensibly because he had in his *Trenta dialoghi* willfully violated the censorship regulations, attacked the Christian religion in his treatment of polygamy and other matters, and caused Zurich to be ill spoken of by other cities (p. 137). The dramatic circumstances of his condemnation lose nothing in the telling, and the defection of Bullinger forms, as it were, the climax (p. 143).

The bibliography of the editions of Ochino's works (pp. 163-65) indicates those found in libraries of the United States; and the modern works (pp. 165-75) are complete with literature published since the last edition of Ben-

rath in 1892. Occasional printers' errors do not call for comment, but the references on pages 40 and 43 to the "*Devotio moderna*" would perplex Professor Hyma.

University of Idaho.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth-Century France: A Study in the Evolution of Ideas. By WILLIAM FARR CHURCH. [Harvard Historical Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. 360. \$3.75.)

INVESTIGATION of the constitutional structure of early modern France reveals a clear example of the trend away from feudal limitation toward that centralization of national control apparently required by the waning powers of the international church and waxing secular interests.

Dr. Church has traced the developing concepts of publicists from Seyssel through the Civil Wars to the accession of Navarre, showing that the medieval limitations of religion, justice, and police yielded reluctantly to change. Two separate spheres of legal rights, administration and customary law, framed the activities of ruler and people, preserving a functional harmony, while in his judicial capacity the overlord was paramount.

Attempted territorial expansion under the first two Valois increased royal power. The concept of kingship altered. Among legists influenced by Roman jurisprudence it became a direct gift of authority, *merum imperium*. One man alone possessed it; magistrates were merely agents with delegated powers. Another group of writers, accepting the newer doctrine of natural law, recognized a general idea of justice as the basis of legal right and extended the judicial capacity of the monarch to include legislation as well.

Possible constitutional checks were the parlement and the States-General. Insofar as the former was custodian of the laws, it might indicate violations before accepting new legislation. The estates, in turn, represented popular rights, particularly the customary sanctity of private property, and must be consulted for new taxation. But the king's superior judicial powers and the precedent set during the Hundred Years' War weakened the position of both parlement and estates. Royal approval granted to codifications of customary codes linked these to ordinances, encroaching further upon popular liberties. However derived, increase in royal power was to be used to maintain the state as it had been.

A change in attitude came about primarily through the disintegration threatened by religious heresies, but also from humanistic interpretation of Roman law in its historical setting, a process revealing the dynamic character of the state. The trend in thought turned from feudal hierarchy of land and personal services toward leveling and subordination of the entire group to the crown. Du Moulin, Charondas, and De L'Hôpital advanced theories preparing the way for Bodin, who stressed natural law.

Political power, like paternal power, is nature's law, and this, not custom,

is the basis of proprietary right in land. Since sovereignty derives from nature, it must include that amount of authority necessary to create and maintain a state. Law then becomes essentially command, although it must still conform with *ius*. Parlement might caution with regard to *ius*, but the decision rested with the sovereign. Bodin recognized some limitation in honoring contracts, in private property, and in certain fundamental laws, but later writers, combining his legislative sovereignty with their own divine right of kings—more precisely the divine right of Henry of Navarre to reign by claim of blood royal—produced a monarch upon whose will the only rein was ethical consideration.

This essay presents a careful if somewhat repetitive analysis of the theoretical approach to absolutism. That the course was dictated by crises is plain from Bodin himself, whose ideal in 1566, through possible Calvinist leanings, required more restraint upon the king than after St. Bartholomew, when fear forced Bodin to conform.

Connecticut College.

BEATRICE REYNOLDS.

Man of Spain: Francis Suarez. By JOSEPH H. FICHTER. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. 349. \$2.50.)

THIS is the first full-length picture in English of Francis Suarez, the man and the Jesuit; Mr. Fichter manages to present, with much insight, the sources of his hero's greatness of character. Recognized in his own lifetime as outstanding amongst Jesuit theologians and philosophers, Suarez here appears as stamped with a spirit of simplicity and Christian humility. As a thinker he is made to stand out against the background of earlier Spanish history, in which his ancestors played no small part as fighting men. As an effective controversialist he tilted with James I on the subject of the Lutheran and Anglican doctrine of the divine right of kings and in favor of the democratic foundation of all just government, only to find, however, the frustration of any such theory in the effects of the Spanish Armada and the false crusading spirit of Philip II.

For the rest, Mr. Fichter rounds out the picture with digressions on such incidental matters as Suarez's participation in the formulation of the *ratio studiorum* and the ten-year-long controversy *de auxiliis* between the Dominicans and the Jesuits. He is presented as forthright, especially when dealing with superiors whom he deeply respected, of judicious independence of thought in all matters not settled in authoritatively defined faith, and of great patience in the face of the small and sometimes mean but ever-nagging opposition and criticism of some both inside and outside of his own order.

Suarez was primarily, however, a teacher and a prolific author of comprehensive treatises, philosophical and theological. It was the intrinsic worth of his philosophical works on metaphysics and on the philosophy of the state and of the proper nature and functions of law and government that accounts

mainly for his now forgotten yet actually tremendous influence upon seventeenth century thought. In this connection Edmund Burke was his greatest disciple. And to many it still appears that, but for Suarez's development of constitutional principles and his theory of the corporate moral personality of the state (which James Wilson would seem to have taken over in his opinion in the case of *Chisholm v. Georgia*), we should never have had our present "more perfect union" of federated states.

Although this life of Suarez as "The Man of Spain" falls considerably short of what Suarez himself deserves, Mr. Fichter is to be congratulated on having taken a first step toward a revival of interest in Suarez's rightful place in the tradition of sound democratic principles.

Fordham University.

MOORHOUSE F. X. MILLAR.

Voltaire and Madame du Châtelet: An Essay on the Intellectual Activity at Cirey. By IRA O. WADE. [Princeton Publications in Romance Languages.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 241. \$3.00.)

THE late J. M. Robertson, in his *Short History of Free-Thought*, remarked that the history of French deism had never been adequately treated. Professor Wade's contributions, both in this work and in *Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, illustrate the many difficulties that must be overcome before that history can be written. A rigid censorship left in its wake a welter of subterfuge, pseudonymous and anonymous treatises and irregular "publications" in manuscript copy. Painstaking, cautious, and modest scholarly monographs such as this by Mr. Wade are necessary before historical generalizations will have any appreciable validity.

The first chapter reveals that in the intellectual collaborations of Voltaire with his bluestocking mistress, Mme. du Châtelet, during the years 1733-49, the latter's role was much more important than has been hitherto admitted. To be sure, Voltaire wrote his poems, his plays, and his short stories under his own impulsion. Mme. du Châtelet's criticisms may well have influenced to some extent the general nature of the important historical writings of the period, yet the *Histoire de Charles XII* had already marked an epoch in the art of history. The collaboration was especially intimate in metaphysics, ethics, physics, and critical deism. With the aid of unpublished manuscript materials Mr. Wade has shown that Voltaire's *Traité de métaphysique* was probably only a mutilated copy of a much larger work to which both contributed. A Leningrad manuscript proves that Mme. du Châtelet, with Voltaire's help, translated Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* and that both, accepting in general the English author's hard-boiled principles, insisted, nevertheless, on maintaining against him a universal and natural moral law. Mme. du Châtelet also translated and commented upon Newton's *Principles* with more penetration than Voltaire had been able to show.

The three remaining chapters of the book contain a summary and critical analysis of a long manuscript by Mme. du Châtelet entitled *Examen de la Genèse*, unearthed at the Municipal Library of Troyes. Mr. Wade shows quite convincingly that much time was spent at Cirey in biblical criticism. Mme. du Châtelet transcribed her commentary not only of Genesis but of the whole Bible, while Voltaire was perhaps too bored to round out a transcription of what later formed the nucleus of the *Bible enfin expliquée*. It is likely, too, that Voltaire wrote during the Cirey period a work later published as the *Sermon des cinquante*, as well as large parts of the *Examen important de Milord Bolingbroke*, and was perhaps the author of *La religion chrétienne analysée*. Much of his critical deism was thus already formulated many years before the comparative safety of Ferney permitted its publication.

Mr. Wade errs, I believe, in thinking that "by 1749, at the age of fifty-five, Voltaire had completed his education". Voltaire's biblical scholarship becomes pronounced only after his *Dictionnaire philosophique portatif* of 1764. The commented books in his preserved library are irrefutable evidence of his late serious delvings into such authors as Spinoza, Fabricius, Middleton, Marsham, Grabe, the early and late church fathers, Confucius, etc., etc.

Three useful appendixes contain a list of books referred to in Voltaire's correspondence of the Cirey period, a parallel-passage comparison of the *Examen de la Genèse* and Woolston's *Discourses*, and Mme. du Châtelet's hitherto unpublished preface to her translation of Mandeville. An index will guide individual researchers to many other interesting details that cannot be mentioned in a brief review.

Columbia University.

NORMAN L. TORREY.

The Mysterious Science of the Law: An Essay on Blackstone's Commentaries showing how Blackstone, employing Eighteenth-Century Ideas of Science, Religion, History, Aesthetics, and Philosophy, made of the Law at Once a Conservative and a Mysterious Science. By DANIEL J. BOORSTIN. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 257. \$3.00.)

Blackstone's Commentaries on the Law, from the Abridged Edition of Wm. Hardcastle Browne, including a Biographical Sketch, Modern American Notes, Common Law Maxims, and a Glossary of Legal Terms. Edited by BERNARD C. GAVIT, Dean, Indiana University School of Law. (Washington: Washington Law Book Company. 1941. Pp. xx, 1040. \$6.00.)

THE subtitle of Professor Boorstin's work contains both a description of the task undertaken by the author and his appraisal of it. The essay is essentially a study in intellectual history after the manner of Parrington, Gabriel, and Miller, using Blackstone as its text.

The Mysterious Science of the Law has a moral, and the moral is that Blackstone was a social scientist with a sense of values, and his scale of values served as the basis for his organization of materials as well as for his for-

mulas of reconciling the inconsistent ideas and assumptions of his time, of which he made full use in his influential *Commentaries* on English law. This study admirably traces the pattern of consistent and inconsistent ideas to be found in the *Commentaries*, and the inconsistencies seem to have captivated the author greatly. Professor Boorstin indulges in exactly the right amount of exaggeration when that is required to drive his points home. For instance, Blackstone was a man who believed in reason and science, but law was divinely inspired. The portrait of Blackstone shrinking from the ultimate logical conclusions of the use of reason makes that author out to have been a much more reasonable or contriving writer than he or any other major author ever was in fact. The English law was to be appraised partly on the basis of its conformity to the law of nature, but the law of nature was to be understood more easily if it could be read in the light of the law of England, in which the law of nature was reflected. The tendency of history was one of progress, and together with aesthetics it is shown by Professor Boorstin to have contributed greatly to the symmetry and orderliness of the law. The author has a nice treatment of Blackstone's reverence for the system as a system. Blackstone taught a science of law, but he was careful not to discover so much by the use of reason that nothing was left of mystery. The law was to Blackstone what it still is to lawyers in the Anglo-Saxon world, a mysterious science. History was useful because it also divulged universal principles, and the law of England was a law of first principles. These and innumerable other ideas and principles are followed through the *Commentaries* in great but not tiresome detail.

The *Commentaries* reveal Blackstone as a cautious, moderate, reasonable man, but this does not mean that he did not hold first things first. Humanity, liberty, and property were his values, and each receives a chapter in this book. These three values were basic in Blackstone's social thinking, and of these property was to Blackstone the most basic. Professor Boorstin's discussion of the currents of eighteenth century thought and developments in the fields of philosophy, history, aesthetics, and politics seems to this reviewer to be much more satisfying than his treatment of the economic aspects of Blackstone's thought and times. This naturally appears in such a chapter as that on property. It is this value of Blackstone's with which the author seems to be least comfortable, although the reviewer may be attaching too much weight to a few casual phrases that occur here and there throughout the book. The relationship of the rising commercial classes to the law of property and to the social value of property is left much more implicit than explicit in Professor Boorstin's discussion. The fact that liberty was regarded as a political function of property is pointed out, but that no other sanction for liberty seems to be in the offing may not be so clear to the author, as is reflected in his comments on the possibility that all may have property and as a result liberty.

In the conclusion the essay suggests, inferentially in large part because the conclusion is much briefer than this reviewer would have liked to see it, that what is needed is a restatement of the law from the standpoint of the basic values of our time, and one gains the impression that these values would, of course, not be the same as Blackstone's, or at least not with his dominant social values. Property might serve as a subordinate value.

This reviewer would like to end on the note that Professor Boorstin undertook a very ambitious task and that he has carried it out in a tone and manner suited to it. The essay may be regarded as a first-rate piece of writing. The documentation is ample but not elaborate.

That one of the standard abridgments of Blackstone's *Commentaries* for student use in the last generation should have been re-edited and reissued at this time is not without historical significance, because it is only natural at such a time as this that lawyers and laymen alike should be interested in the legal foundations of our society. This reviewer has found a single volume of this kind of great use as a ready reference, and the notes at the end of each chapter which have been added by Dean Bernard C. Gavit, the editor, are very helpful because they present within a brief compass and in a general but reliable manner a statement of the extent to which the law stated in Blackstone is the law of our time. Dean Gavit should be congratulated on his notes, because they summarize a large body of law in language that can be understood by a layman. The glossary and common-law terms make the book the more useful to modern readers.

It is an interesting study in the tensile strength of ideas to see how much of Blackstone is with us still. Some will feel that this is too bad; others will feel that this is as it ought to be.

These two volumes, the *Commentaries* and the essay of adventure in intellectual history, will provide much food for thought for historians and social scientists, young and old.

Indiana University.

OLIVER P. FIELD.

Empire or Independence: A Study in the Failure of Reconciliation, 1774-1783. By WELDON A. BROWN, Assistant Professor of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute. (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 338. \$3.00.)

IN this volume Professor Weldon Brown relates a story that is long overdue—the story of appeasement during the American Revolution. Although the term conciliation was the eighteenth century equivalent of what we call appeasement, the peace proposals capably outlined here bear out the author's contention that they either conceded too little or came too late.

Mr. Brown, after a brief chapter on colonial proposals for the settlement of Anglo-American differences, discusses at length Lord North's conciliatory

measure of 1775, the Howe Commission of 1776, the relation of conciliation to the Declaration of Independence as well as to the Franco-American alliance, and finally, the Carlisle Commission of 1778, the last great effort during the Revolution at appeasement without independence. He is inclined to believe that a peaceful solution was possible, 1774-75, prior to the resort to force at Lexington, although he contends (p. 58) that neither the colonial plan of 1774 nor the British plan of 1775 was anything more than "restatements of two diametrically opposite points of view", in neither of which was there apparent the slightest inclination to compromise.

The author rightly regards all conciliatory proposals before 1778 as inadequate. He nevertheless lays himself open to the charge of inconsistency in his analysis of Lord North's proposition of 1775, which he defends (p. 71) as "a fair attempt to avoid the former objection to internal taxation by Parliament", after condemning it (p. 46 and later p. 73) as an indication of the fact that the North administration had learned nothing from a century and a half of Anglo-American relations except adherence to the policy of force.

Mr. Brown is, however, to be congratulated on his use of numerous representative colonial newspapers to illustrate American reaction to British peace proposals. His chapters on the Howe Commission of 1776 as a British effort to forestall independence and the Carlisle Commission of 1778 as an attempt to sidetrack a French alliance amply demonstrate the political considerations back of the peace offensive.

The reviewer finds it difficult to accept all of the author's views—in particular his attempt to trace the origins of a later and more enlightened colonial policy back to the conciliatory proposals of 1774-78. The correspondence of North, Germain, Knox, and others rather suggests what the author himself recognizes (p. 299), that the proposed concessions were due to the tragedy of events rather than to any fundamental change of heart. Likewise, the student of Canadian or South African history might question the assertion (p. vii) that the loss of the thirteen colonies taught the British to compromise in time, when the rebellion of 1837 and the Boer War are outstanding examples to the contrary.

Historians of this period, however, will scarcely quarrel with Mr. Brown's main conclusions that the failure of the conciliation program was due to London's daily decisions from 1607 to 1774, to a lack of mutual confidence between Britain and America, to the resort to war in 1775 and the preoccupation of influential leaders with the prosecution of that war, to the absence of acceptable terms until 1778, when they came too late, and to the military success which prevented Americans from having to choose anything short of independence.

All in all, this study of eighteenth century British appeasement policy, based on primary sources, fills one of those surprising gaps in a field as well

trodden as that of the American Revolution. The book contains a useful critical bibliography and an index.

Everett Junior College.

MARION SPECTOR.

Twelve Who Ruled: The Committee of Public Safety during the Terror.

By R. R. PALMER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. 417. \$3.75.)

At a time when the future of French democracy is unpredictable a re-study of its struggle for survival in the Year II of the First French Republic is almost requisite. Perhaps a sense of this need impelled Professor Palmer to undertake the task, and the result is the best synthesis now available of the relevant research work of recent years, illuminated by an interpretation emphasizing the issues that invaded the future.

As these remarks imply, the title *Twelve Who Ruled* minimizes the scope of the book. Actually it is a study of the Republic in the year extending from July, 1793, to July, 1794, with the focus on the Committee of Public Safety. It begins with sketches of the twelve members of the great committee as they were before the Revolution, and it ends with word vignettes of them as they became after the Revolution. These miniatures are finely done, but the substance of the book concerns what the twelve did during their year of power. We see their dictatorship rise from the chaos of the summer and autumn of 1793, become established in the winter, strike down its opponents in the spring, and move blindly to its fall in the summer of 1794. Meanwhile, as we follow some of the "decemvirs" on their missions into the provinces, we comprehend the local actualities of the Revolution at its climax: here an episode of dechristianization, there a blaze of the Terror, or again a victory of republican arms.

All this is well amplified. No one has thrown more light on the fatal operation of the Rousseauist doctrine of the general will, on the progressive contraction of the revolutionary minority, on the cross purposes and the personal antipathies of the Jacobins, from those of the Committee of Public Safety to the small fry in the provinces. Nor has anyone made the great issues, such as the interrelation of foreign and internal affairs, the nature of the Terror, the economics of the regime, and, above all, the evolution and the achievements of the dictatorship, more intelligible. Except for an occasional rough transition, the integration of material is excellent; and the author exploits some of the printed sources—the reports of the secret police, for instance—much more effectively than other writers in the field have done.

It seems, however, to this reviewer that the essential importance of the book is interpretative. In an age such as ours the overwhelming preoccupations of the present are likely to create the illusion that we are living in an

interlude. By evoking, now implicitly, now explicitly, the similitudes of the crisis of the Revolution and the crisis of our time, Professor Palmer restores continuity with the past. He presents the Committee of Public Safety as the prototype of modern dictatorships, the Republic of the Year II as an early pattern of the totalitarian state. The paradox of nascent democracy resorting to the methods of its modern antithesis is at least as old as Marat's declaration for a "tyranny of liberty", but Professor Palmer develops the theme with striking effect. True, the totalitarianism of the Year II was tentative and incomplete. The principle of leadership and the ideology of dictatorship per se were lacking. Autarchy, a matter of expediency, not of conviction on the part of the committee, was barely sketched. And, of course, though the dictators avowed their dictatorship, its genuine purpose—and that of the Terror as well—was to found the Republic. The question that fatally divided the Jacobins was what kind of Republic they wanted—the chapel that Robespierre would have built or the caravanserai that Danton projected.

In this interpretation there is much that is new and valid. Among other things, our attention is directed to Robespierre's hitherto ignored speech of February 5, 1794, avowing the dictatorship and expounding its purpose; we are shown that Ventôse, rather than Germinal, was the turning point in the spring; and we are offered acceptable evidence that Billaud-Varenne and Collot-d'Herbois (if anyone), rather than Robespierre and Couthon, co-operated with Saint-Just in preparing the Ventôse laws, and that Saint-Just himself shortly abandoned any idea he may have had of social revolution. Thus Mathiez's conception of the culminative phase of the Terror falls to the ground.

On the other hand, it is not easy to agree with Professor Palmer when he attempts to lift the pall of the late Terror and to represent the last hundred days of the dictatorship as a springtime of republican hope. It is still less easy to accept his almost lyrical portrayal of Saint-Just. And his discussion of Thermidor follows too familiar lines. Like so many others who have written after Mathiez, he refuses to see that, in the end, Robespierre struck for a personal dictatorship. The Incorruptible's motives may have been of the purest; he may even have been right in thinking that only he could save the Republic. But there remains the indisputable fact that on the eighth of Thermidor he demanded a final purge of the committees and the Convention and the complete subordination of the Committee of General Security to the Committee of Public Safety. Had the Convention acceded, the event would have been a virtual *coup d'état*. Who then, other than Robespierre, would have had power in France?

Finally, some historians will be annoyed by the absence of definite reference notes and will wish that the full bibliography, which appeared in the *Journal of Modern History* for September, 1941, had been included in the volume. But it may be ungracious to ask more of one who has given so

much. *Twelve Who Ruled* is a book of indubitable value, and it must be classed at once among the important contributions of American scholarship to the study of the French Revolution.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

DONALD GREER.

Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory. By HERBERT MARCUSE. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 431. \$3.75.)

THIS volume is a valuable contribution to the history of social and political ideas and, in particular, to the interpretation of a philosopher whose name and aims have been more distorted than that of other great thinkers. Hegel, with Nietzsche, Luther, even Kant, has become popularly known as the glorifier of the *Machtstaat*, the idea that might comes before right and success justifies every action, in short, as a bogey forerunner of Nazism. After a thorough analysis of all Hegel's writings which bear upon his social and political ideas, Marcuse has restated once more what in his view Hegel's philosophy really means. To him it is the most radical and revolutionary turn against both abstract rationalism (basis of liberal political philosophies) and mystical irrationalism (basis of most authoritarian philosophies) which Western thought has yet witnessed.

According to Marcuse, Hegel never disavowed what after all was his fundamental discovery: the role of dialectical thought and the conception of reality as its dynamic field of action, although his later writings became gradually less radical and eventually led him to regard post-Napoleonic Prussia as the final political achievement of the *Weltgeist*. Thus in 1796, in a mood reminding one of Nietzschean anarchism, Hegel had written: "Only that which is an object of freedom may be called an idea. We must, therefore, transcend the state. For every state is bound to treat free men as cogs in a machine. And this is precisely what it should not do; hence, the state must perish." Later, the state and even its instruments of coercion became the "embodiment of freedom". According to Marcuse, however, there is here no basic contradiction to the earlier theory because history, within Hegel's system, remained the actualization of freedom and the realization of reason. One would have liked, nevertheless, to find a more critical evaluation of the ideological factors which this change implied and, in general, of the "ideological" features of the later Hegel.

Hegel considered the final stage of history achieved in a definite era, *his* era. Likewise Marxian political philosophy, whose intimate connection with Hegelian thought this study clearly reveals, in spite of its intended anti-utopianism, considered a definite historic event as the consummation of all human "prehistory". Marcuse, who shares the basic views of Marxism, insists in the second part of his book that only Marx and his genuine heirs may be considered Hegel's successors and fulfillers, while other early Hege-

lians as well as later fascist self-styled Hegelians are but falsifiers. But is fascist practice (not to mention its ideology) further removed from Hegel than the results of certain attempts to realize the ideal of "classless society"?

The book is written in a lucid style, believe it or not, ye who have labored through the linguistic aridities of the controversies between German idealistic philosophers.

Howard University.

JOHN H. HERZ.

Italian Nationalism and English Letters: Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters. By HARRY W. RUDMAN. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. 444. \$3.25.)

THIS interesting study of the part taken in the Italian Risorgimento by the English people, and especially by English men of letters and statesmen, acquires a special significance on account of the present war between England and Italy. The book is divided into three parts, of which the first and longest is dedicated, and rightly so, to Joseph Mazzini, by far the most important of all the Italian patriots who found shelter in the British Isles. The eight chapters that deal with Mazzini's life in England give us a good account of his manifold activities and of the reaction they provoked among his few detractors and many friends and admirers. Mr. Rudman's summary statement of his thoughts and beliefs, however, is not quite satisfactory, as it does not sufficiently emphasize the religious and mystic note in his life and his teachings. Mazzini's true greatness is not as a political leader but as the prophet of a new social epoch in which man, through his direct experience of God and the fulfillment of his duty toward humanity, will be able "to collaborate with the Deity and help achieve the perfection of the world". This apocalyptic vision, which historians look upon as a dream, was for him something real and definite—the next step of human progress, which is merely "the evolution of the thought of God". All the people who came in touch with Mazzini, even those who disliked him, felt his spiritual greatness and realized that it consisted not in what he thought or in what he did but in what he was. It is to be regretted that Mr. Rudman mentions the Third Rome of Mazzini in connection with the Fourth Rome of Mussolini without pointing out the contrasting difference between the Mazzinian conception of nationalism and of the mission of Rome, and the imperialistic nationalism of fascism.

In the second part of his study Mr. Rudman deals with a group of eminent Italian exiles in Great Britain, who, through their work and activity and through their friendship with influential Englishmen, kindled the interest of England in the Italian cause. Some of these exiles who, like Rossetti and Panizzi, became naturalized English subjects, played no mean part in the cultural life of England and did much to strengthen the spiritual ties

between the two nations. These brief sketches of the outstanding Italian exiles are well drawn; only I should have liked to see included among them Giovanni Berchet, who lived in London from 1821 to 1829 and who as a poet and a translator contributed much to the spreading of English romantic literature in Italy. Another great Italian, Santorre di Santa Rosa, barely mentioned by Mr. Rudman, deserved a better presentation. His friendship with Mrs. Austin, whose house in Queen Square was the meeting place of so many political exiles who looked upon her as their protecting angel (Mr. Rudman never mentions her), reveals in a series of beautiful letters the warm, tender gratitude of a noble heart for the lady that had offered him comfort and hospitality. It was through Santa Rosa that Mrs. Austin became acquainted with Victor Cousin, an acquaintance which developed later into a lifelong friendship that found its expression in a famous correspondence.

The third part of the book is devoted to the two great men who, with Mazzini, were the builders of Italian unity: Cavour, the statesman, and Garibaldi, the warrior. Cavour, who visited England twice and was a sincere admirer of its political constitution, never became very popular among the English people; their idol was Garibaldi. When Garibaldi visited Newcastle in 1854, he was given a sword purchased by the pennies of hundreds of workingmen; each penny represented a heart that beat true to Italian freedom. When, after the liberation of Italy, he returned to England, he was received with an outburst of delirious enthusiasm. The story is well told by Mr. Rudman, whose valuable book is enriched by a vast and systematically arranged bibliography. Some few misprints of proper names—Aristo, instead of Ariosto, Polidri, instead of Polidori—should have been avoided.

Vassar College.

GUIDO FERRANDO.

The Cambridge History of the British Empire. General Editors, J. HOLLAND ROSE, Fellow of Christ's College, formerly Vere Harmsworth Professor of Naval History in the University of Cambridge, A. P. NEWTON, Emeritus Professor of Imperial History in the University of London, and E. A. BENJANS, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. Volume II, *The Growth of the New Empire, 1783-1870.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xii, 1068. \$10.50.)

IN a volume like the present one, which covers almost a century in the history of the greatest of nineteenth century empires, the problem of proportion is fundamental. In this book of one thousand pages, exclusive of the index, the bibliography occupies about one hundred pages. Of the nine hundred which remain one hundred are devoted to the wars with France, something over one hundred to foreign policy and international law as they affected the empire, fifty-six to the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, something over one hundred to economic history, about one hundred to the history of the crown colonies, and perhaps two hundred and fifty to problems

of colonial administration. Treated in separate chapters are the exploration of Africa, the exploitation of Africa, the beginnings of the Straits Settlements, the routes to the East, and the problems of imperial defense.

This arrangement of chapters involves some repetition and a number of striking omissions. Considering the magnitude of other subjects to be treated, it seems a waste that the diplomacy of the Mediterranean and the Near East, which is probably as exhaustively treated in other standard works as any subject in modern history, should be dealt with not once, but twice, in this volume. On the other hand, there is no adequate treatment of the constitutional history of the empire after 1815; Professor Harlow, in his chapter on the new Imperial System from 1783 to 1815, indicates the nature of the problems arising from the multitude of legislatures within the empire all claiming sovereign powers, but the legal difficulties which faced the colonial office receive no adequate treatment in the later administrative chapters. Another strange omission is the history of the acquisition and development of Hong Kong. No doubt a treatment of possessions in the farthest East is planned for the third volume of this series, but the story of the relations with the Chinese Empire and the development of trade through the British free port is needed to round out the three economic chapters and Professor Dowdell's excellent one on the beginnings of the Straits Settlements. Perhaps this criticism really boils down to the reflection that three hundred and fifty pages is scarcely adequate space for the whole story of the central administration of the empire and also the political and economic history of the crown colonies. In the forty-four pages assigned, Professor Newton can give a satisfactory and altogether interesting account of the West African settlements, but nothing of the kind is possible for Mauritius or British Guiana when they are lumped into a few pages with the "sugar colonies". Least adequate of all, perhaps, is the space devoted to Professor Knaplund's chapter on colonial policy and problems between 1815 and 1837, which he himself characterizes as "eventful and formative years". It is true that many of the important "problems" of the period are well treated in other chapters and in other volumes of the series, but more space is needed to work out adequately the central themes and to bring forward the outstanding personalities.

Granting then that this is not the final and definitive treatment of nineteenth century colonial administration, it is pleasant to be able to report that the new volume does with great success the one essential thing which the historian has a right to expect of it; it brings out and emphasizes in almost every chapter the essential unities of imperial growth and imperial thinking. The provincialism of most nineteenth century colonial historical writing has been until very recently its outstanding feature, and the general aura of Kiplingesque imperialism, which since 1890 has overlaid most English works on the empire, has not tended to give it truer perspective. But in this volume

the individual colonies and the empire as a whole are seen against the background of world affairs and are related to the tremendous tides of intellectual and economic forces which swept the world toward unexampled prosperity and (in our own day) tragic disintegration. The enormous influence of the humanitarian movement and of the industrial revolution are alike recognized, and it is greatly to the credit of the editors, who selected the specialists for the very diverse materials treated, that not one of them yields to the temptation to indulge in clichés in dealing with these movements or with such difficult matters as the nature of responsible government and the roots of mid-Victorian anti-imperialism.

Certain valuable generalizations emerge as a result of the broad sweep of historical treatment. The early chapters should dispose once and for all (if such a thing is possible in historical writing) of Seeley's famous aphorism. The chapters by the late Professor Rose, based as they are on Admiralty papers apparently not previously used in this connection, are unexpectedly illuminating as to the purposefulness of the various overseas expeditions in the course of the French wars. The quotation from Castlereagh, given in the chapter on imperial defense, states the case better than has any historian. "Our policy", he told the house of commons in 1816, "has been to secure the empire against future attack. In order to do this, we had acquired what in former days would have been thought romance—the keys of every great military position." This frank acceptance of Britain's destiny to control the seven seas, in combination with an almost equal aversion to the acquisition of square miles of territory to be governed—an aversion which lasted so long that in 1865 a foreign minister could express in a private letter the hope that Canada would withdraw voluntarily from the empire and join the United States—these are the outstanding features of imperial sentiment in England before 1870. The symptoms of a change to come after that date are to be found in the last of the three chapters of economic history, where the relative importance of maintaining and increasing the supply of raw materials is shown to have surpassed in importance even the need for new markets.

Another important general truth which emerges again and again from these pages is the superior hold of the Far Eastern empire centering in the valley of the Ganges on the affections and imaginations of Englishmen as compared with that of the American colonies. "Passing from the Atlantic colonies to those of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean", writes Professor Harlow, "may be compared to entering the new wing of a factory where new inventions recently patented are being tested amid the noise of eager voices and newly made machinery", and Mr. Habakkuk remarks of the anti-imperialists of the fifties and sixties that "only the most determined 'little Englanders' ever tried to bring India within the scope of their arguments". Why this was true before 1830 must always be a puzzle to those

who insist on the economic interpretation of history, for the material advantages of the Indian Empire to the average Englishman in the fifty years after the American Revolution were negligible, and its administration could justly be regarded as a liability to the British exchequer. But the spectacular success achieved by individual Britons in the Far East at this time, as contrasted with the very drab experiences of settlers in Canada or the Caribbean, is probably sufficient explanation for the glamour surrounding Oriental possessions; a glamour which influenced statesmen and soldiers no less than merchants and mariners. Moreover, the victories of British ships and fighting forces in the earlier period led rapidly to the days when "by the aid of cheapness and an illegal drug, 'free trade' England conquered the East commercially". It was this conquest of the East, combined as it was with the continued supremacy of English manufactures in the markets of the United States and South America, which made the doctrines of free trade and laissez faire seem such a dynamic force in the middle of the century. "By the aid of free trade", writes Mr. Fay, in the eloquent conclusion to what is certainly one of the best chapters in the volume, "the merchants and manufacturers of England took empire in their stride."

Any serious attempt at the correction of minor factual errors in a work of this scope, put together by experts in many different fields, is beyond the powers of a single reviewer, but it may not be captious to ask why some attempt was not made by the editors to correct such inaccuracies in terminology as were due to the unfamiliarity of the authors with the literature of other fields of colonial history. The most striking instance of such a lapse is the use by two of the contributors of the phrase "chartered colonies", instead of "colonies with assemblies", in describing the old West Indies. Such a term, as far as the reviewer remembers, was never used in parliamentary debate or in any of the literature of the slavery controversy in the nineteenth century; in any case, it is grossly inaccurate in the light of the history of these colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Bryn Mawr College.

HELEN TAFT MANNING.

British Admirals and Chinese Pirates, 1832-1869. By GRACE FOX. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company. 1940. Pp. xiv, 227. 12s. 6d.)

THIS interesting study deals with British naval policy in the China Seas and the part taken by the British navy in the suppression of piracy along the China coast. Both of these subjects, however, are studied primarily with the object of illustrating to what extent the Admiralty influenced British foreign policy toward China from 1832 to 1869. The work represents a great deal of diligent research and painstaking scholarship and is reliable and accurate throughout. The chief sources are the manuscript records of the Admiralty as found in the Admiralty Record Office and the Public Record Office.

Three of the eight chapters present essential background material relating to changes in the Admiralty and the British navy, commercial and diplomatic developments in China, and the background of piracy on the China coast. In the third chapter naval policy in the China Seas, as outlined in the standing orders and instructions, is analyzed, and chapters v through vii deal with the actual program for the suppression of piracy as it advanced from a faltering and sporadic procedure in 1834 to an international program under British leadership in the 1860's.

From the documents presented it is abundantly clear that Britain's interest in China during these years was commercial and not territorial. Instructions to naval commanders directed them to avoid offending the Chinese and to take action within Chinese waters only upon the request of British diplomatic and consular officials. These in turn generally hesitated to order action against pirates for fear of injuring innocent people and antagonizing the Chinese unless specifically requested to do so by Chinese officials, who themselves were unable to cope with the pirates. As a result piracy steadily increased during the period of the Arrow war and the Tai-p'ing rebellion and was greatly aided by the ease with which Hong Kong could be used as a base of supply. Only after 1860 did a successful co-operative system gradually appear. This involved effective control of vessels at Hong Kong so that it could not be used as a supply base; the registration of Chinese vessels by the governor-general at Canton and their control through a system of mutual responsibility; the establishment of a small fleet of armed Chinese cruisers and the co-operation of this fleet with British and other foreign war vessels against pirates.

After considering the mass of assembled documentary evidence one is ready to conclude with the author that the Admiralty played a passive role in the formulation of policies toward China. The initiative lay with the foreign and colonial offices, the Admiralty seeking to adjust these policies to the realities of the situation. It is also evident that most British officials and naval officers encouraged self-help on the part of the Chinese, and that in the end this policy bore fruit because the bulk of the suppression of piracy was actually done by the Chinese.

In general the style is direct and straightforward, but occasionally too much complicated legal phraseology has been allowed to creep in (pp. 114-17). There are a very useful map, a number of appendixes and illustrations, a valuable classified bibliography, and an excellent index. Only a few minor mistakes and typographical errors are to be noted. French as well as British war vessels had been in Chinese waters before 1820 (p. 27), and on page 79 the name should be spelled Swisher, not Suisher. One wishes that greater effort had been made to identify and properly romanize the names of Chinese pirates and officials. The work is admittedly only a presentation of the problem of Chinese piracy as revealed in the British documents, and one

hopes that someone will soon come forward to do as effective and reliable a job with the Chinese sources.

Wayne University.

EARL H. PRITCHARD.

The British Empire, 1815-1939. By PAUL KNAPLUND, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. [Harper's Historical Series, under the Editorship of Guy Stanton Ford.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1941. Pp. xx, 850. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Knaplund's *British Empire, 1815-1939*, whose appearance has been eagerly awaited, is a notable addition to Harper's Historical series. Well written, the product of deep and precise scholarship applied with discrimination and ease, it has many invaluable features. The accounts of the development and condition of Great Britain in successive periods are not only models of selection and brevity in themselves but are an essential accompaniment to the narrative of the growth of the empire. The description of the colonial office and colonial government after 1815 could hardly be bettered. Due emphasis is given to the role of the Church of England in the colonies, to humanitarian and missionary influences, to the economic growth of the colonies and dominions and their educational systems, and to the problems of color, particularly in South Africa. Growth of populations and emigration from the British Isles are fully discussed, with proper emphasis on the different conditions favoring emigration in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The history of India is thoroughly and sympathetically described, and Eire is not forgotten. One third of the book, a good proportion, relates to the twentieth century. An unusual feature, particularly welcome in these days, is the full treatment accorded to Newfoundland and the West Indies, though regarding the latter the Moyne Commission of 1938-39 is overlooked. Many excellent maps are included, and the carefully selected bibliography of secondary works will be especially welcome.

Yet the book falls between two stools. It is too long to give, apart from the excellent general introduction, any concise view of the empire as a whole: yet, though replete with facts, it is too short to give details such as more specialized works can vouchsafe. It has little of the romance of empire about it, little of the feeling of the empire-builder, be he missionary, trader, soldier, administrator, or pioneer settler; many of its characters are not alive. There is no indication that the empire has within it new nations, Canadians, Australians, and the rest, each with its own outlook, literature, and growing traditions. The chapter on the growth of equality of status (1901-39) ignores this essential factor. Less important, yet unexpected, is the omission of any account of the Rhodesias, East Africa, and Nigeria in the twentieth century and of the recent developments in the colonial service and in tropical colonial administration.

With a subject so amorphous, the problem of organization is indeed the

despair of the historian. Professor Knaplund has solved it by making three divisions, at 1837, 1870, and 1901, and beginning each of the four parts with chapters on Britain, imperial expansion and international factors, and intra-imperial relations, before proceeding to accounts of the different parts of the empire within the period. The inevitable result is a good deal of repetition, occasionally even on consecutive pages. How teachable the book will prove to be is, therefore, open to question; it is, in any case, almost too long for a half-year course on the empire since 1815, and whether any year courses are given, limited to this vital part of the empire's history, is not known to the reviewer. Perhaps a book beginning at 1783 and dividing only once, at 1870, would be more satisfactory. But textbooks exist only to be abused by those who use them. If faced with the task of writing this one, the critics who came to scoff would stay to praise the doughty and scholarly work which Professor Knaplund has produced.

University of California at Los Angeles.

CHARLES L. MOWAT.

Darwin, Marx, Wagner: Critique of a Heritage. By JACQUES BARZUN. [Atlantic Monthly Press Publication.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1941. Pp. xii, 420. \$2.75.)

THIS book is an essay in the history of ideas, or, if you prefer, in intellectual history. It is not concerned, like the late Preserved Smith's *History of Modern Culture*, mainly with classifying and relating in chronological succession the contents of books, nor, like much of Mr. A. M. Schlesinger's work, mainly with tracing what seems to have gone on in the minds of large groups of ordinary men. Mr. Barzun is indeed intensely interested in both these aspects of intellectual history, and his book covers with extraordinary range and accuracy the characteristic and important books of the last eighty years and the ways in which those books did their work among those who read them or heard about them at second, third, or nth hand. Mr. Barzun's chief concern, however, like Mr. Carl Becker's in his *Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers*, is to establish generalizations about his materials, generalizations that in less self-consciously anti-intellectual periods could frankly be called philosophical. It is not, indeed, that Mr. Barzun is less than frank; he closes his book with an effective plea for the general adoption, in a world madly pursuing several kinds of absolutes, of a conscious, open-minded, and tolerant metaphysics of pragmatism.

A brief summary of generalizations worked out from materials as rich as Mr. Barzun's is bound to do them injustice, especially if you agree with him and with his fellow romanticists that all conceptual thinking falsifies the reality of perceptive experience. His major thesis, however, seems to this reviewer to run about as follows: The generation represented by Darwin, Marx, and Wagner—and he makes an excellent case for treating these men as representatives of attitudes and ideas established by the last quarter of the

nineteenth century rather than as revolutionary innovators—were absolute materialists. Rejecting the insights of their “romantic” predecessors of the early nineteenth century, they had under the influence of such concepts as evolution by natural selection, inevitable progress, dialectical materialism, nationalism in culture, and the like, come to deny the existence of purposive human activity and to affirm that men are mechanisms. Their actions, witness especially those of the determinist Marx, were frequently the actions of men who believe firmly in purposive action, indeed, in free will. But if for no other reason than that they narrowed and twisted their purposes into something humanly undesirable, their absolutist beliefs had an evil influence on their lives. Their favorite, and in some sense crowning, absolute was Science, appropriately capitalized, while god was relegated to lower case. But theirs was not the tentative and adventurous science which knows it is limited to organizing receptor-experiences into useful theorems according to conceptual schemes set up by the mind. Theirs was the Science—Mr. Barzun prefers to call it “scientism”—of men like Herbert Spencer, who held that it was possible once and forever to discover invariable laws, the rigid mechanical “reality” which somehow underlay and made “unreal” the apparent diversity of experience. The doctrine of evolution in which they summed up their beliefs became paradoxically a denial of the possibility of change. It, and not “romanticism”, led to the current totalitarian absolutisms. The truly original and creative thinkers among our predecessors were not men like Darwin, Marx, and Wagner, but their opponents, men like Samuel Butler, Georges Sorel, Pareto, Nietzsche, who sought to bring science back to its proper and limited sphere and to restore purpose, feeling, and value to their proper—and mathematically not measurable—place in human life.

His concrete richness of detail, his critical reflections, *obiter dicta*, and occasionally malicious asides, make Mr. Barzun’s book a constant delight to all who relish intellectual debate. *Darwin, Marx, Wagner* is by no means an introductory survey of the last eighty years of Western thought; but for those who have some familiarity with the men and the ideas Mr. Barzun treats of, it is one of the most stimulating of recent books, an especially useful one for “tutorial” and other methods of teaching by discussion. One among the many subjects for further debate which the book suggests to a reviewer who finds himself in substantial agreement with its conclusions is this: at the present time is “scientism”, as Mr. Barzun pretty clearly seems to think, really the most dangerous enemy of a sensible pragmatic approach to our problems? The question certainly cannot be more than hastily touched on here. It is true that there are still many practicing natural scientists who think of Science as Herbert Spencer—and M. Homais—thought of it, as a master key to a mechanical universe. It is also true that proportionately even more social scientists have naïve notions about what scientific method is and

what it can do. Finally, it is true that for the man in the street Science is still something miraculous that produces airplanes and sulphothiazole on its way to producing the millennium. Yet for all their aberrations, including such mysticisms as that of the later Comte (who was not much of a scientist), men of science in the last three or four hundred years have probably done more than any other group to make Mr. Barzun's present philosophical position tenable. Any crude dichotomy between thought and emotion is, as he well knows, usually disastrous to human stability. The trouble with generally discrediting science (which, perhaps unintentionally, he seems to do) is that such tactics open the way to a general discrediting of the instrument of thought. And, whether through "scientism", "romanticism", or through less high-brow means, the instrument of thought is already dangerously discredited.

Harvard University.

CRANE BRINTON.

What Nietzsche Means. By GEORGE ALLEN MORGAN, JR., Associate Professor of Philosophy in Duke University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 408. \$4.00.)

Nietzsche. By CRANE BRINTON, Associate Professor of History, Harvard University. [Makers of Modern Europe, edited by Donald C. McKay in association with Dumas Malone.] (*Ibid.* Pp. xvii, 266. \$2.50.)

THAT two books on the same thinker, and a thinker who has not in general been the subject of many works in English, should be published within a year by a great university press is in itself arresting. What is far more striking, however, is that these two works, even granted the difference in their purpose and scope, should be so divergent, not only in their judgments and in their evaluations but even in their exposition of what their subject actually wrote, that it is well-nigh impossible to believe that they are in truth concerned with the same thinker. Nor is this all. Professor Morgan is a philosopher who, after years of study, presents us with a thoroughgoing exposition and examination of the ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche. He is expressly not concerned with biography in the ordinary sense, or with the study either of the society in which the thinker lived or of his ideas in action in the world following his death. He is not a historian. Professor Brinton, on the other hand, is a historian, and particularly a historian of ideas. His book is avowedly a biography and a study of the influence, the interpretation, and the misinterpretation of one of the important minds of the nineteenth century. Yet by an amazing paradox it is Professor Morgan who gives us a well-rounded and meaningful picture of the man; even though, save for a brief introduction, he omits the details of his life; and it is Professor Morgan again who, by his skill in presentation, gives, at least to those who have some general knowledge of the nineteenth century and some awareness of the issues in the realm both of ideas and of

action in our own, the better comprehension of the influence of history, including the history of his own time, on Nietzsche and of Nietzsche's own influence on subsequent thought and on those who have misused him to reject the necessity of thought. It is Professor Morgan, too, who makes intelligible to us Nietzsche's own philosophy of history and its relation to a total philosophical scheme. This, no doubt, is in part due to the simple fact that it takes a philosopher to interpret a philosopher, and Mr. Brinton is avowedly not of the species. Yet, apart from difference in training, in degree of preparation, and in the group of readers to be appealed to (for Brinton writes for the intelligent layman), the paradox results from a fundamental difference in attitude. Professor Morgan has a profound conviction that the essential explanation and understanding of a philosopher who was both a great scholar and a great thinker, wrestling in his mind with the problems posed by study and by observation of his own world and by a concern to create a philosophy relevant to that world, comes out of a consideration of those inner activities, that they are the true biography of the man, and that that sort of explanation which explains by undue stress on the impact of merely personal events, of diseases, of animosities, of frustrations, is no explanation at all. To the present reviewer this seems at once sound judgment and scholarly historiography. Only by such an approach can the ideas of great thinkers be truly grasped and interpreted. Only so may the history of ideas be written. Professor Brinton, unfortunately, despite occasional statements, *e.g.*, that we must not overstress Nietzsche's syphilis, continually writes as though Nietzsche could be explained psychoanalytically and by a general stressing of unfortunate personal relationships and experiences. Doing this, he fails often to note the real basis of certain quarrels, above all that between Nietzsche and Wagner, which arose, in fact, from profound philosophical divergencies and not from personal pique—a quarrel in which Nietzsche seems generally to have been essentially right. Indeed, Brinton's technique, admirable for creating prejudice, can only promote misunderstanding.

Secondly, Professor Morgan, while insisting that Nietzsche was an enemy of system makers, shows how he was essentially concerned with bringing to birth, out of a thoroughgoing criticism of existing viewpoints and traditions in all major branches of human thought, a pattern and a coherent ideal of and for life. Brinton, on the other hand, overimpressed by Nietzsche's aphorismic style, can see little of coherence in him and tries to deal with him simply as an explosive and sometimes wildly crazy critic of the mores and of the climate of opinion of his age.

It is, however, in terms of the relation of Nietzsche to subsequent ideas, attitudes, and movements that Morgan and Brinton differ most significantly. The assessment of that relationship is perhaps Brinton's main objective. Yet in it he singularly fails. His basic division of pre-Nazi interpreters of Nie-

tzsche into gentle and tough neither does justice to what the best in either camp really contributed nor succeeds in revealing the basis of their limitations, namely, their incapacity to grasp in its totality the vastness of Nietzsche's thought. In dealing with the Nazis themselves Brinton does indeed show how they have erected Nietzsche into an intellectual founding father despite the difficulties of editing and expurgating involved in that undertaking. Yet he deems Nietzsche a genuine prophet of the Nazi way of life and ends his chapter, "Nietzsche, like the Nazi leaders, was never really house-broken."

It is at this point that Morgan, though never discussing the relationship of Nietzsche to the Nazis directly in the main body of his work, provides the essential corrective. Nietzsche indeed was never housebroken: his life was a prolonged and lonely agonizing over the miserable, humdrum, and unimaginative way of life of middle-class, industrial, respectably Christian civilization, whose lack of moral striving he profoundly deplored. Pessimistic reflection on this situation seemed to him not enough. His essential plea was for struggle—not the struggle of destructive savagery, contemptuous of all life and of all values, which characterizes the Nazi, whose lack of domestication, unlike Nietzsche's, results from incapacity to face desperate conditions and ends in barbarism. The Nazis and others before and since are deaf to Nietzsche's call to a struggle by individuals to achieve strong personalities, to be ruthless above all to themselves in achieving creative self-discipline by an acceptance of the conditions of life and of the drives in their own nature rather than by a denial of life in the search for easy comfort.

Nietzsche indeed did feel that a destruction of the old not unlike that being carried out by the Nazis might well be a necessity as a preliminary clearing of the ground. But, aristocratic though he was, or perhaps, better, because he was, he had nothing but contempt for brute force and narrow nationalism, even though he was prepared to use them as a sadly needed surgery.

Yet Professor Morgan shows brilliantly that at bottom Nietzsche was striving with all the problems and fighting almost all the ideological errors which we confront today. And, if superficially he may seem to be a friend of irrationalism and an enemy of democracy and of science, essentially one may urge that he has much in common with thinkers like Santayana and T. V. Smith. At a time when democracy seems threatened by narrow selfishness from within, as well as by enemies from without, and when the building of morale is the chief problem confronting us, the ardent democrat may well reflect on Nietzsche's critique of the weaknesses of an easygoing democratic society. His belief in ruthless force as a clearing of the atmosphere is false, since means and ends are related, and the pursuit of his high ends by such gross means is a foredoomed adventure. Yet one must add that democracy can only hope to achieve, and to deserve to achieve, a lasting

triumph if it shows itself capable of overcoming the spiritual poverty he limns; of developing out of an egalitarianism which is not merely a leveling downward a genuine reduction of material means to their proper place; and of promoting the conditions for the achievement of varied distinction through the nourishing of diverse personalities, pursuing harmonious fruition under the aegis of divine discontent.

That, to the present reviewer, is the implication to be drawn from Professor Morgan's great book. It deflates Professor Brinton's hyperbolic prophecy that, if the Nazis triumph, Nietzsche will be the Christ and Mohammed of a new dispensation, whereas if reason re-establishes its sway over men's minds, his work will be the emotional equivalent of the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam. For Professor Brinton reveals the dangers of historiography narrowed to the service of contemporary causes by well-intentioned but superficial liberals who fail even to recognize the nature of great thought when it does not offer facile, and immediately self-evident, support to their causes. Professor Morgan, on the other hand, makes it abundantly clear that true salvation can come only from respect for the richness of great minds and a wrestling with the issues they so forcefully pose, even when at first sight they are cruel antagonists and bitter enemies of prejudices dearly cherished. His volume is, I think, true intellectual history.

University of Washington.

THOMAS I. COOK.

The French Laic Laws, 1879-1889: The First Anti-Clerical Campaign of the Third French Republic. By EVELYN M. ACOMB. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 282. \$3.50.)

SINCE 1789 hardly a decade has passed that did not see the religious issue become an important question in French politics. Unfortunately for both France and the church the problem of church and state is so intertwined in the complex of the French Revolution that it probably can never be solved as long as the Revolution itself remains a political issue. This monograph is a study of the efforts to secularize French society in the decade 1879-89, when the victorious liberal-bourgeois republicans, after years of conflict with clerical, authoritarian regimes, attempted to give France institutions that would assure her and themselves the blessings of the French Revolution as they understood it. Although the republican parties were far from being in complete agreement—a perennial situation in French politics—they did succeed in framing a laic program, especially for education, upon which they could agree. This compromise program did not satisfy all the men of the left, and it was almost completely unacceptable to the clericals, social conservatives, and unrepentant monarchists on the right, who fought the assault upon their idea of society with every weapon available. At the end of the

decade, although considerable legislation had been written, the conflict over the laic laws was obviously not ended.

Within the limits of the space allotted in this study, the two chapters dealing with the roots of anti-clericalism in the 1880's are the best systematic summary of the problem to be found in any language. The only criticism to be offered is that Dr. Acomb did not make a similar analysis of the roots of clericalism. Surely, in view of the subsequent chapters, it would not have been out of place, and, in the reviewer's opinion, it would have added greatly to the value of the monograph. The last three chapters are primarily devoted to the parliamentary problem of passing the laic laws by which the republicans attempted to break the hold of the church on education, charity, marriage, funerals, and a number of such things. The obvious illiberal partisanship of the aggressive republican parties led Dr. Acomb to remark: "A study of the laic legislation . . . is more than a tedious analysis of conditions and laws . . . forgotten by all but the professional historian. It is an illustration of the fact that subservience to the ideal of a highly centralized national state may produce intolerance, violation of civil liberties, and suppression of the rights of autonomous groups within the state." She adds, however: "The danger to religion of any political affiliation is likewise demonstrated by the history of the Church in this period."

Dr. Acomb has used a wide range of materials in making this study, but the French parliamentary papers (*Journal officiel de la République française*) were by far her most important source. She has combed the debates in the chamber and the senate, a tedious, painstaking labor, and her efforts were handsomely rewarded. Throughout the monograph she has used the materials—often violently partisan in nature—with a scholarly, detached care that makes her contribution useful to anyone interested in nineteenth century French history.

University of Missouri.

JOHN B. WOLF.

Briand: Sa vie, son œuvre, avec son journal et de nombreux documents inédits. Par GEORGES SUAREZ. Volume III, *Le pilote dans la tourmente, 1914-1916*; Volume IV, *Le pilote dans la tourmente, 1916-1918*. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1939; 1940. Pp. ii. 499; 396. 40 fr.; 52 fr.)

THE third and fourth volumes of Suarez's extensive life of Briand are devoted to the war years and concentrate their attention on Briand's two war ministries (November, 1915-March, 1917). On the book's present scale two volumes more would be required to carry the story to its end.

Suarez does not understate his case, and Briand emerges a figure of larger mold than is usual in histories of this period. His bold insistence that Gallieni have his army and Joffre arrest his retreat makes Briand author of the Battle of the Marne, says Suarez. The ministerial declaration of November

3, 1915, re-created the *Union Sacrée* and gave back to France her hope. Briand saw clearly the dangers of divided military counsel and gave unity of command first to the French armies and later to the armies of France and Britain. The latter act, however precarious, laid the basis for the final achievement of Clemenceau.

After the first great blows of the German offensive had struck in February, 1916, and when highly placed officers urged that Verdun be forsaken, Briand lashed out with the word "cowards" and threatened to cut off heads forthwith. At Verdun, as at Paris, it was the factor of national morale which weighed with Briand. He was responsible also for the periodic meetings of the heads of the Allied governments, significant wartime instrument and precursor of postwar international institutions in which he was to play so large a role.

In all these ways, says Suarez, Briand had prepared the eventual victory which Clemenceau was to realize. These were the acts of a man of reason, even of caution—one disabused of the value of audacity by his prewar experience, one perhaps unsuited, his biographer admits, to the dark days of 1918 when the dynamism of Clemenceau prevailed.

The biography is based in very considerable measure on the extensive papers of Briand, and this fact gives the book its principal importance. There are copious quotations from the archives of Briand, and in Volume IV the rich documentation on the Von der Lancken affair is of special interest.

The faults of the book are obvious and fairly serious. A thoroughly inadequate annotation will irritate the serious student of the period and makes it well-nigh impossible for the reviewer to determine with any precision what the book adds to our knowledge. The biography is narrative rather than critical: it does not pose nor answer "problems" and becomes at times a limited and provincial (even anecdotal) account of Briand the man, inadequately related to the problems which he faced. It is often discursive and at times definitely unclear (see the section on the creation, prior to his final resignation, of a new post for Joffre, the character of which is never really elucidated, IV, 49 ff.).

When all is said, however, it will perhaps be more grateful to recognize the positive qualities of this study of a man and an epoch so important to us now. We may well ask when the historian will be able again to write a life of Briand with a comparable documentation at his disposal.

Harvard University.

DONALD C. MCKAY.

Democratic France: The Third Republic from Sedan to Vichy. By RICHARD WALDEN HALE, JR. (New York: Coward-McCann, 1941. Pp. xiii, 414. \$3.50.)

THIS volume is almost exclusively a political history, in the narrowest sense of the term, of the Third French Republic from its beginning to its

end. It is one of the few books in English—or, for that matter, in any language—covering this period. It is, therefore, bound to be useful, but it must be noted that it is a curiously mixed work, some of it quite good, some of it surprisingly poor. Among its virtues, and this is indeed a great virtue, is the fact that the author has made a not altogether unsuccessful attempt to see the Third Republic as a citizen—especially a moderately progressive, republican citizen—might have seen it. This is an approach that the author stresses (on p. 3, for example, and again on p. 56, where he wisely remarks that “French Parliaments must be thought of as French, and as doing French things for French reasons, not as a faulty copy of English Parliaments”). It is an example of the book’s divided nature that, immediately after the promise to look at France as the French did, the author writes in reference to the collapse of the Second Empire: “Since two Americans watched those events, perhaps it would be possible to borrow their eyes” (p. 4). These two Americans—Sheridan and Washburne—are not, as quoted by the author, particularly illuminating, and their eyes were certainly not French.

Among other virtues may be noted the author’s realization that nationalism can be taken too seriously as an explanation of French evolution (p. 266) and that emotional and sentimental influences played as important a role in imperialism as did economic factors (p. 265). He further avoids the mistake of thinking that, because its end was sudden and unfortunate, the government of the Third Republic must always have been relatively poor and inefficient. On the contrary, he sensibly stresses its many real accomplishments and successes. He properly—since his book is intended primarily for the general American reader—includes an account of the forms of the French government and an explanation of how it functioned.

Among the principal faults of the book is the unnecessarily large number of factual mistakes, particularly in the last chapters, which give the impression of having been written with undue haste. The book is also occasionally marred by poor writing (the first quotation above, with its jump from the plural “French Parliaments” to the singular “copy” is a typical example). Rigorous editing would considerably improve a second edition.

The chief limitation of the book lies in its plan: it is almost exclusively a political history, confined to the evolution and actions of the various legislative bodies of the nation. For this narrow focus the author advances the ingenious if not altogether convincing apology that “A close examination of Parliamentary actions has been a good index of national thought” (p. 61). Only in one brief chapter is there a serious effort to relate parliamentary history with economic evolution or with events taking place outside France. One occasionally suspects that the nearly complete absence of consideration of economic matters proceeds as much from ignorance as from plan. How else explain the preposterous statement made in respect to the 1920’s that

"One reason France was prosperous was that taxes were low" (p. 329)? A study of the tax situation might help.

This book will inevitably be compared with *France under the Republic*, by D. W. Brogan. Both books appeared at about the same time; both are intended for the general reader; both deal almost exclusively with parliamentary history. Brogan's book has the advantage of greater length (although the excellent *La Troisième République*, by G. Bourgin—covering only the period to 1914—proves that this advantage may be apparent rather than real); it contains far fewer factual errors, and the writing never sinks to the low level of the worst passages of Hale's book. It may be suspected that professional historians will prefer Brogan's book, partly on its merits but partly also because the author is one of themselves. Nevertheless, this reviewer thinks that for the general American reader Hale's book has advantages, such as the attempt to explain the operation of the government, the somewhat more sympathetic approach, and the simpler narrative. There is still, however, from the point of view of both the specialist and the general reader, a need for a good general history of the Third Republic.

Columbia University.

GEORGE WOODBRIDGE.

He might have saved France: The Biography of André Maginot. By MARGUERITE JOSEPH-MAGINOT. Translated by ALLAN UPDEGRAFF. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1941. Pp. vi, 310. \$3.00.)

ANDRÉ Maginot deserved better of the world than his posterity of disaster and defeat. Like the system of defensive fortifications which bore his name he was physically strong. But his country was weak, and the Maginot Line, like the Maginot mind of which the great fortifications were but a visible manifestation, was dedicated to a static concept.

Fortifications serve in war as a *point d'appui* around which a field army can maneuver. They are not in themselves sufficient; they are no better than the armies which defend them. The tragedy of the Maginot Line is that it was conceived and built in futility, for the forts themselves were never really proved; it was the French army, the French Republic, the French spirit that were found wanting. Indeed, the Maginot Line was a paradox. For spiritually, politically, militarily, the French nation was committed to, and fitted for, the defense—and at that a static defense. Yet it undertook political commitments—with Poland *et al.*—which plainly required for their implementation offensive military measures. And though its men were in no sense trained or ready to match the Germans in the war of maneuver, the French armies of the left flank moved blithely from behind their prepared positions to graves in Belgium. Never was the necessity of correlating military and political and spiritual policies more clearly shown than in the tragedy of France.

Which was also, as with all true Frenchmen, the tragedy of André

Maginot, politician, soldier, minister of war and colonies, for whom the famous line was named. This affectionate biography by an adoring sister is scarcely a biography in the finer sense and adds little to our knowledge of Maginot the man or of the collective mind of Maginot's France.

The first part, dealing with Maginot's boyhood at Revigny, is fulsome and inconsequential; it is only when his sister lets André speak in his own words in his World War diaries that interest quickens and the prose becomes eloquent. Maginot's short-term but lively war service (he was so badly wounded in November, 1914, that he saw no more action) occupies the greater part of the book; Maginot's subsequent service in various governmental posts receives skimpy attention, and the reader gets no clear idea of the genesis or development of the Maginot Line.

The title, *He might have saved France*, is justified only in the last chapter; Maginot's sister-biographer explains that at the time of his death her brother was preparing to go to the Geneva Conference to fight for complete security—"collective security", and she hints that Maginot also had hoped to bolster his system of fortifications with planes and tanks in great numbers. Yet it was Maginot who secured the appointment of Gamelin as chief of staff of the French army, and Gamelin's weaknesses have been revealed in the glaring spotlight of defeat.

This book is not, therefore, a convincing case history; it has moments of excitement and personal touches which only a sister could bestow, but it adds little to our knowledge of Maginot or of his country. The history of the Great Tragedy of France still remains to be written.

New York City.

HANSON W. BALDWIN.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

Thailand, the New Siam. By VIRGINIA THOMPSON. [Issued under the Auspices of the Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, International Research Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xxxii, 865. \$5.00.)

THE reader of this most recent book on *Thailand, the New Siam*, will be disappointed not to find any extensive information regarding the activities of the Japanese in a little-known part of Asia. The date of publication, however (October), partly explains this omission. One can find, fortunately, detailed facts concerning a region now within the grasp of the Japanese imperial army, thus furnishing a needed background for a more intelligent understanding of the Battle of the Pacific.

Part I considers the geography and peoples of Siam and an all too sketchy historical background; it has chapters discussing the constitutional regime, foreign relations, administration, justice, and defense. The few pages dealing with the military efforts of modern Siam should aid in fitting together the

intangibles of the war now being waged. Siam officially places her standing army at twenty thousand effectives, including provincial forces, although some foreign attachés have doubled this figure.

Part II of Miss Thompson's study gives minute information pertaining to the land and population, natural resources, agriculture, commerce, industry, public works, finance, and labor. In this section it is made clear that Siam suffers from some of the evils rampant in other parts of the world, such as an excessive number of tenant farmers, the blighting shadow of absentee landlordism, and the struggle of selfish interests for exploitation of the mines and timber of the country.

The student wishing to obtain the most accurate picture of Siamese society could well turn to Part III of Miss Thompson's book. Religious activities, social organizations and problems, the status of public health and education, the eternal opium problem, and the condition of the press and public opinion are surveyed. There are ten pages on the history of Siamese art which could be expanded easily into a long-demanded book on this subject, to be undertaken perhaps in those days when some peace comes to the world.

The cultural historian already is extending his horizon to include the small countries of Asia. Among these Siam stands high. Siamese artists have known for centuries the art of bronze casting in the form of Buddhas, cannons, dragons, and bells. Expert work also has been executed by the native silversmiths, the only Siamese art form, incidentally, having any foreign market. Siam manufactures superior porcelain and also in the past created superb woven materials. It is fortunate that recently the ministry of education decreed that this dying art must be taught in the schools.

The scholar anxious to find the latest and most trustworthy bibliography and bibliographical notes will be enriched by Miss Thompson's summary of the merits and demerits of writings pertaining to Siam by European and American authors. The earliest reference to the country is that of Ptolemy in his geography of eastern Asia. Chinese chronicles appeared in the seventh century. The Siamese themselves have neglected their own country. It is not surprising to find inaccuracies in these early books. As in other historiography, in these creations the eras often were changed, and no uniform system of chronology was used. The Royal Research Society, however, has brought to life a valuable brief history of Siam from 1350 to 1605 which is considered to be the standard work on these years. Other equally valuable manuscripts certainly may be unearthed, Japanese bombers willing. There are many seventeenth century French accounts of Siam, followed the next century by English records of the East India Company and the stories of travelers. Miss Thompson admits a paucity of material on contemporary Siam.

This factual study should encourage others to delve more deeply into the innumerable subjects presented here only in a general way.

West Virginia University.

THOMAS E. ENNIS.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Williamsburg, Old and New. By HILDEGARDE HAWTHORNE. Illustrated by E. H. Suydam. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1941. Pp. xv, 284. \$4.00.)

GUIDEBOOKS usually can be classified into two groups: those essentially objective, with concise, factual material, historical and descriptive, in some logical sequence, and those more subjective, with facts often subordinate to impressions interwoven with historical incidents. Unless the latter type is enriched with penetrating observations and interpretation in good literary style, volumes of this kind are of limited value to the historian and to the general reader. Such is the case to a considerable degree regarding this book on Williamsburg. Somewhat less than half the text is a historical sketch of the two colonial capitals of Virginia, the remainder being an account of the restoration project with descriptions of selected buildings and their surroundings. The reader will look in vain for a map or plan of Williamsburg to aid him in getting his bearings and following the author's wanderings. I should advise him to turn to the authentic and attractive guide published by the restoration project, *A Brief and True Report for the Traveller concerning Williamsburg in Virginia* (1935 and later editions), charmingly written by Rutherford Goodwin.

To survey the history of Jamestown and Williamsburg in 125 pages with proper perspective and emphasis is no easy assignment, the historian will readily admit. Miss Hawthorne has done the job with appropriate stress on the colonial period, especially the eighteenth century, and without straying away into tempting bypaths. Economic and social factors as well as political events are taken into account. It is quite obvious, however, that she has followed Goodwin's work in historical outline and selection of details, including quotations from contemporary sources, more closely than her acknowledgment indicates. Indeed, when she ventures into the abundance of material found in other accounts, we are informed that Governor Alexander Spotswood appointed himself postmaster general of the colonies (p. 66), that the archbishop of Worcester aided Dr. James Blair in getting a charter for the College of William and Mary (p. 49), that George Rogers Clark "had been brought up at the Falls of the Ohio" (p. 102), and that William Henry Harrison was a "young officer" in 1825 (p. 271)! Benson J. Lossing, whose description of Williamsburg in 1857 provided valuable information for the restoration work, becomes "Benton Lossing", and the Burwell family of Virginia appears as "Burrell" (phonetic spelling). There is an unhappy

mixture of verbatim and paraphrased quotations, as though one might improve upon the pungent phraseology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The history and descriptions of old buildings, original and restored, are more satisfactorily covered in the series of pamphlets issued by the restoration project than in the present volume. Although Miss Hawthorne has sketched the history of many of the buildings in entertaining fashion, her approach to each house and garden is marked by a certain sameness and a sincere but uncritical enthusiasm. The reader will enjoy, however, the numerous anecdotes about public officials and private citizens. While the places portrayed are well selected, both the descriptive and the narrative chapters are marred by intentional use of crudities of the American language (*e.g.*, "the new Revenue Act was raising heck all over the country") and by careless sentence structure conveying the wrong meaning. Most amazing is the sketch of the Kerr house in Williamsburg. The author states that it was burned *ca.* 1749 and then continues: "For fifteen years it stood a wreck, and then, just before the Civil War, it was rebuilt" (p. 217). One of the best features of the book is the pencil drawings by the late E. H. Suydam. The historian can easily find more authoritative information on colonial Williamsburg and its restoration; so could the layman, were he to look, without going far afield.

University of Virginia.

LESTER J. CAPPON.

North Carolina: The Old North State and the New. Volumes I-II. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Author and Editor. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company. 1941. Pp. lxxx, 654; 833. \$35.00 subscription price for set of five volumes.)

HERE is a history which, the author tells us in his foreword, is the result of "prolonged researches, in innumerable quarters . . . in the great repositories of documentary and printed materials of history, both at home and abroad". Thirty years of such research, "arduous, wide-ranging, and minute", have "resulted in a gradual maturation of a philosophy of historiography", with the result that, Dr. Henderson informs us, he has been able in this work to avoid "many of the defects and weaknesses of other histories of an American state". Under the terms of his contract he has had no "authorial or editorial connection" with Volumes III, IV, and V of the series, which contain biographical sketches. He acknowledges a heavy debt, however, to Mr. L. Boone Hill, of the staff of the Lewis Publishing Company, who has contributed so much to the narrative of the first two volumes that, "had he consented, this history might not inaccurately have been formally labeled, what it is in actuality, a work of collaboration".

"Historians", says Dr. Henderson, "oftener than not, fall between two stools. They strive, and in vain, to write simultaneously for two publics: the historian and the general reader. The effort at compromise almost invariably

proves unsatisfactory." The present history, written for the general public, contains neither footnotes nor bibliography. The purpose has been to produce "a more than merely readable, indeed . . . an absorbingly interesting story of the evolving genius of a people".

This purpose has been successfully accomplished, for a history has been written which will indeed prove interesting to the general public. Use is made of numerous monographs and special articles (including many of the author's own) that have appeared within the past few years, so that much material is included which is not to be found in any other general history of the state. The story flows along smoothly, depicting the origin and growth of a people from the coming of the first English colonists in the 1580's down to the present day. Nearly two hundred pictures, facsimiles of rare maps, manuscripts, and printed materials, and other illustrations enhance the value of the volumes. Seven chapters (299 pages) on the cultural development of the state, containing a great deal of information, nowhere else available, on literature, music, art, the drama, and allied topics, will be recognized as the major contribution of the work. A few minor errors do not merit individual mention in this review.

Two moot problems, concerning the authenticity of the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" and the birthplace of Andrew Jackson, are discussed in detail. With regard to the former, the author relies heavily on the "Davie copy", which has recently come to light, concluding that such a declaration was actually made. Concerning the latter he bases his judgment mainly on a letter published in an Edenton newspaper of 1831, in which Jackson refers to North Carolina as "my native state". Scholars will be interested in the discussion of these problems but probably will conclude that neither has been settled.

Considerable prominence is given to the author's own family. The frontispiece of each volume depicts a member of that family, and there are no less than twelve other pictures of individuals of the group. In addition a considerable amount of the text, often in the form of highly eulogistic quotations, is devoted to these and other members of the family. One would gladly attribute these inclusions to the acknowledged collaboration of Mr. Hill of the publishing house, whose sales appeal to the public lies largely in the biographical sketches in the other three volumes.

North Carolina Historical Commission.

C. C. CRITTENDEN.

The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765. By ROBERT L. MERIWETHER, Professor of History, University of South Carolina. (Kingsport: Southern Publishers. 1940. Pp. viii, 294. \$3.75 postpaid.)

THE author of this useful study has been so modest in his statement of its contribution—so reticent, even, in his generalizations—that some readers

may overlook its merits. It is a substantial contribution in detail to the history of the expanding colonial frontiers of settlement.

The monograph is based upon careful research over many years in provincial and local archives. It employs statutes, assembly and council journals, the Indian Books, land grants and conveyances, wills, inventories, plats, militia returns, church records, newspapers, genealogies. From these the author has constructed an intimate (in places an overdetailed) record of the actual progress of settlement by individuals, families, and immigrant groups: Huguenot, Swiss, German, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, etc. It covers a significant quarter century in the agricultural occupation of South Carolina. The middle country, in 1729 a true frontier, with its defense role uppermost in the minds of colony officials, was soon in process of assimilation, both in economy and culture, to the patterns of the tidewater, though it remained an important transition area and so helped to maintain the unity of the province. The back country, entered both from Charleston and more easily and numerous from the north, was becoming the frontier not only of the Indian trader and hunter but also of the pioneer farmer. Much of this record is fitted into the geographical framework. The author has provided descriptions of areas, soil, forest cover, rivers and hills, and a number of maps. In ten of the sixteen chapters he recounts the settlement of the middle country (both the western and the eastern townships) and of the back country. Along the way he throws light on the evolution of the Indian trading paths into routes of migration and then of transportation for the farmers' surplus, on the ranches and cowpens, especially of the middle country, on farm economies in both interior sections, on the sources and composition of the frontier population, and on the role of the churches. The Cherokee War is treated briefly in relation to its effects (and those of the Seven Years' War generally) upon the settlement of the back country.

A good deal of this is no doubt typical of the development of the Old West of the eighteenth century as a whole. But Professor Meriwether has rightly emphasized certain peculiar features of South Carolinian frontier expansion: an earlier Indian-trading frontier more widely extended than in any other English colony; the pressing character of the defense problem, as revealed by the Indian war of 1715; the dangers inherent in the rapid increase of slave population on the exposed southern border; and especially the important part played by a provincial settlement policy which was evolved at the outset of this period in recognition of these other peculiarities of the Carolinian problem. An important early chapter is devoted to Governor Robert Johnson's township scheme and the settlement fund. "The aid to settlement thus given", he says, "had no counterpart in any other English colony" (p. 30).

By 1765 two thirds of the area of the later state had been occupied. Its

racial composition had been determined for two centuries to come. Within the larger unity of the province the bases of sectionalism had also been laid with the rise of the back country. But the author reaches an interesting conclusion that other factors—most important, the metropolitan role of Charleston and the vigorous direction which had been furnished by able provincial governments—were already more significant than the forces making for sectionalism.

University of Michigan.

VERNER W. CRANE.

Portrait of a Colonial City: Philadelphia, 1670-1838. By HAROLD DONALDSON EBERLEIN and CORTLANDT VAN DYKE HUBBARD. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1939. Pp. xv, 580. \$15.00.)

THE title of this most attractive work is well chosen. One feels, after viewing the 250 illustrations and reading the related text, as if the old city had indeed sat for its portrait before artists who knew how to make the most of such an opportunity. Excellent photographs of practically all the buildings surviving from the period 1670 to 1838 are arranged in approximately chronological order; and both the history and the architecture of each separate item are described in detail. Nor does one lose sight of the city as a whole. The story is divided into three parts, corresponding to the early colonial, the late colonial, and the early national eras, and an introductory essay explains in each case the general characteristics of the period.

The authors are sympathetic with their theme and at the same time critical, not only in matters of detail but also with regard to certain trends. Nothing could be more severe than their comment on the decadence of architectural taste that set in after 1838, when "Jacksonian vulgarisation and Victorian commercialism . . . well-nigh wrecked a once beautiful city." More pleasant is their account of the fine old county seats on the Schuylkill—"plantations" that rivaled those along the James and the Hudson, and which now have fortunately been preserved in the Fairmount Park system. Most attractive is the account of the "Golden Age", 1783-1838, when most of the Georgian structures were still standing and when the Greek Revival forms of Latrobe and Strickland had provided a setting of classic dignity worthy of the early national capital. Architects, to be sure, may differ with the authors in technical opinions, and those steeped in local lore may find errors of fact: but the general reader receives an impression of accuracy and good taste throughout the work.

There is much material here for a history of the "old families", of the manners and customs of successive eras, and of the arts most intimately associated with these ways of living. While some of the details may not interest those having no associations with the city, the synthesis of biographical, social, and architectural elements should command the attention

of those concerned with local history in general. Since Philadelphia was in many ways the outstanding American city for the century from 1730 to 1830, much of this "Portrait" transcends local significance.

University of Pennsylvania.

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940. By EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940. Pp. x, 461. \$4.00.)

The University of Pennsylvania Today: Its Buildings, Departments, and Work. Edited by CORNELL M. DOWLIN. (*Ibid.* Pp. x, 209. \$1.50.)

Portraits in the University of Pennsylvania. Edited by AGNES ADDISON. (*Ibid.* Pp. 67. \$3.00.)

IN the extensive literature on higher education in this country, scholarly histories of individual institutions of higher learning are rare. Seldom do we find works, for example, as satisfying and brilliant as that by Morison of Harvard. In most cases our histories of higher education take on the character of eulogistic or anecdotal records untouched by the requirements of sound historical scholarship. It is indeed fortunate that the history of the University of Pennsylvania has now been written by Professor Edward P. Cheyney, one of the distinguished historians of our time and past president of the American Historical Association. The occasion of the writing of this volume and the two supplementary volumes listed above was the Bicentennial Celebration of the University of Pennsylvania held in September, 1940.

The two-hundred-year story of the University of Pennsylvania has long awaited competent treatment. This story is so closely linked in its early years with the founding of our republic that it has a universal rather than merely a local interest. Professor Cheyney has answered many of the questions that scholars have asked relating to the association of the university with our Revolutionary leaders and the "Founding Fathers", particularly Benjamin Franklin, John Dickinson, Benjamin Rush, and James Wilson. He has also clarified the social and political background of the well-known dual existence of the university during the twelve-year period between 1779 and 1791. The volume is divided into four books covering the long history of the institution: Book I, Early Times, 1740-1779; Book II, The Middle Period, 1779-1829; Book III, The Renaissance, 1829-1881; and Book IV, Modern Times, 1881-1940.

Persons interested in the history of professional education will be particularly interested in the illuminating sections of this history dealing, first, with the rise and development of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, the first medical school in the United States; second, with the record of the Law School, the first [*sic*] collegiate school of law in America; and third, with the story of the Wharton School, the first collegiate school of busi-

ness in this country. Professor Cheyney has put all students of the history of higher education in his debt by giving us this authoritative "short history" of the University of Pennsylvania. The volume was written for the general public and wisely omits lengthy bibliographies and detailed footnotes from the present edition.

The volume edited by Dowlin is designed as a brief guidebook for visitors to the University of Pennsylvania and is similar to the more serious type of guidebooks recently issued by a number of universities. It presents in some detail the present organization and activities of the several parts of the university and includes a rather full description of the various buildings, current research activities, and the origins of different departments in the institution. In the volume by Addison we are given an attractive collection of reproductions of 102 portraits in oil and pastel owned by the University of Pennsylvania and a description of 165 other portraits which have been presented to the university at one time or another. This collection of portraits, with accompanying biographies of men famous in our national life and in the life of the institution, should prove a convenient and valuable addition to the libraries of all friends of the University of Pennsylvania.

Columbia University.

DONALD G. TEWKSBURY.

Documentary Life of Nathan Hale. By GEORGE DUDLEY SEYMOUR. (New Haven: Donald L. Jacobus, Box 3032, Westville Station. 1941. Pp. 659. \$5.00.)

FROM whatever point of view one chooses to regard this handsome volume, it is an extraordinary book, whether as the fullest and most accurate account which has yet appeared of the life of the "martyr-hero" of the American Revolution, whether as a description of a side of that movement which has been too little known, whether as a picture of the Yale College of the late eighteenth century, or as a contribution to what may be called the social history of America in colonial times. For it is not merely, as its title seems to indicate, a documentary life of Nathan Hale. By means of those documents—from the pen of Hale, from those of his friends, from college records, from an extraordinary variety of other sources, drawn from family records, from official and unofficial sources, many hitherto unknown or inaccessible—the patient industry and insatiable curiosity of the leading antiquarian of Connecticut, if not of the United States, has brought together an amount of material of every description invaluable for the reader and the historian.

It is not to be expected that the life of a young countryman who was raised on a Connecticut farm, went to college, taught school for a brief period, served an equally brief period in the army, and died at twenty-one could afford much material for an extensive biography, and one's first thought is how there could be enough to make such a substantial volume.

But this is more than a life of Hale; it is the picture of a society. In its pages that society takes form and lives, and the very amount and variety of the contents little by little build up a picture which cannot be forgotten—costume, atmosphere, condition, and spirit of those eventful times, line by line—until one feels that he must have known or even been part of it. Nor is it without a dramatic quality, commonly if erroneously supposed to be absent from antiquarian pursuits. One of the most extraordinary and interesting narratives in the history of antiquarian research is the story of the author's discovery of a contemporary shadowgraph of Hale beneath the paint of a door in the Hale homestead, which he has made into a "shrine". There is no one interested in Hale, in the American Revolution, in Yale, or in colonial education or life, who can afford not to reckon with this volume. Illustrated by portraits, views, and facsimiles, it is not merely a monument *aere perennius* for the author's lifelong hero; it is a panorama of colonial life seen from many different angles. It seems unfortunate that the owner of the only five Hale letters known to exist outside of this collection did not see fit to make them available for inclusion here, but that does not detract from the fact that this is probably the definitive account of its subject and his times, an enduring memorial to the hero and also to his biographer. For of the various kinds of heroism, two are here illustrated. The one is a short, swift, tragic career—with a splendid exit line; the other is the long, slow, painful process of historical investigation, under almost incredible physical difficulties—and who shall judge which is the greater?

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795. By RANDOLPH C. DOWNES. [Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, sponsored jointly by the Buhl Foundation, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and the University of Pittsburgh.] (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1940. Pp. x, 367. \$3.00.)

DR. DOWNES has always had an admiration for the Indian and has felt that his civilization, while unlike that of the white man, is truly worthy of commendation. He contrasts the education of the Indian boy with that of the white lad and concludes that the former acquires certain skills that the latter never learns. He has no sympathy with the frontier slogan, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." To illustrate the contrast in types, he has taken the period of clash on the Western frontier, 1745-95. This includes the later years of the French supremacy; the taking over of the Ohio region by the British; the Pontiac conspiracy and its aftermath, Dunmore's War; the vital years of the American Revolution; and the Indian wars, closed by the victory of Wayne and the treaty of Greenville.

The author has tried fairly and truthfully to evaluate each problem at

issue. He proves the faithlessness of the white men to their own treaties. He shows the causes the Indians had to distrust the frontier invaders. He likewise shows that the Indians' intertribal quarrels hindered them from any form of unity that might have obtained for them a settled place in the United States economy. The author has little use or sympathy with the "border heroes"; he thinks that Daniel Boone not only led the white invasion into lands where he had no right but slaughtered uselessly the game on which the red men relied and broke his promises to them. He represents George Rogers Clark as a brilliant but erratic leader, whose so-called "conquests" he minimizes and whose influence on the "winning of the West" he disregards. In his description of the Clark expedition he says nothing of his skill in utilizing the Spanish influence in the trans-Mississippi region and makes little of the tremendous effect of the capture of Governor Hamilton at Vincennes. He thinks that the importance of Clark's conquests has been exaggerated and that they were ended by 1780.

Against Clark and the Kentucky leaders he offsets the regulars of the fort at Pittsburgh, although acknowledging that their plans often went awry and that the British at Detroit and Niagara were more skillful than the American generals, Hand, McIntosh, and Brodhead. He absolves Governor Hamilton from the accusation of being a "hairbuyer" (purchaser of scalps), but he does not give Governor Abbott of Vincennes credit for his humane sentiments.

On the whole, the book, while carefully wrought and thoroughly documented, presents the Indians' case against the white men during the drama of the frontier in the last half of the eighteenth century.

The volume has a full bibliography and a good index, and it is sponsored by the Buhl Foundation, the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and the University of Pittsburgh. The press of the last-named institution has well produced it.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin. LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

Anthony Wayne, Trouble Shooter of the American Revolution. By HARRY EMERSON WILDES. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1941. Pp. xii, 514. \$3.75.)

ANTHONY Wayne has evidently been a tempting subject for biography. The first, a life of Wayne by John Armstrong, appeared in Sparks's American Biography series in 1839. This was followed in 1845 and 1861 by biographies from the pens of Horatio N. Moore and Orville G. Victor. These earlier volumes were entirely superseded, at least as far as Wayne's Revolutionary activities are concerned, by Charles J. Stillé's *Major General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line of the Continental Army*, published in 1893. John R. Spears's *Anthony Wayne* (1903), Thomas A. Boyd's *Mad Anthony Wayne* (1929), John Hyde Preston's *A Gentleman Rebel* (1930),

and Henry Pleasants's *Anthony Wayne* (1936) added nothing important to what Stillé had said. My first impression of the present volume, judging from its flippant subtitle and from my examination of the bibliography and a glance here and there at the text, was that Stillé would still hold the field. I encountered several purple passages, commonly resorted to by authors who would compensate for their deficiency in spadework by heavy drafts on their imaginations, of which the following is typical:

Mary Vining was well accustomed to having officers chained to her chariot . . . she had, through her dazzling beauty and her fascinating personality, bewitched the French and the British as well as the Continental Army. Her deep-set, big black eyes, snapping vivaciously under their long, heavy lashes, made men her slaves; her piquant wit disarmed them utterly. Wayne was her latest conquest. . . . Her tall, slim figure, her delicate rose-pink complexion, her graceful arms and hands, her full red lips, and her mass of blue-black hair haunted his dreams (p. 202).

And the bibliography failed to mention Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, Force's *Archives*, the *American State Papers*, and, above all, the *Pennsylvania Archives*.

Closer examination disclosed, however, that the *Pennsylvania Archives* had been liberally used, even though not listed in the bibliography, and that Mr. Wildes had widely studied the Wayne Papers (fifty volumes of them) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the great collection of personal letters in the possession of William Wayne of Waynesboro, great-great-grandson of the general, and the Wayne and other pertinent manuscripts in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the New-York Historical Society, the William L. Clements Library, the Chester County Historical Society, Duke University, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the Crozier Theological Seminary of Chester, Pennsylvania, and other collections. This extensive use of manuscript material, coupled with the author's evident familiarity with the contents of the printed source material and secondary works collected in his extensive bibliography, renders unimportant his failure—if he did in fact fail—to consult some of the more obvious published source material.

Mr. Wildes deserves particular commendation for giving a balanced account of Wayne's life. Stillé and others have overemphasized the years during the Revolution. Wildes gives recognition to the fact that Wayne's successful campaign against the Indians on the Great Miami and the Maumee (Miami of the Lakes) in 1794-95, culminating in the Treaty of Greenville of 1795, was probably as important as his capture of Stony Point and his other services in the Revolution. The present book is also valuable in presenting for the first time a detailed account of Wayne's attempts—mostly unsuccessful—to make a living at business and farming, and of his family affairs. The book is extremely well documented throughout. The only document cited which I have checked, a letter of St. Clair to James Wilson (p.

471) in the Ohio State Library at Columbus, proved to be misdated. (It was written on June 18, not June 8, 1777.) But I inquired about this particular letter because I thought it was misdated, and I have no reason to suppose that the citations in general are not accurate.

The chapter on Wayne's early experiences in Nova Scotia is marred by some ludicrous errors, brought out in Professor Lundeen's careful review of the book in the December, 1941, number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

My verdict in brief is: on the whole, a conscientious and valuable book, the value of which is obscured by a surplus of rhetoric and a defective bibliography.

Yale University.

BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG.

Amos Eaton, Scientist and Educator, 1776-1842. By ETHEL M. McALLISTER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1941. Pp. xiii, 587. \$5.00.)

IN Perry's history of Williams College (1899) he singled out the seven most distinguished graduates from that institution, namely, William Cullen Bryant, Mark Hopkins, David Dudley Field, William Dwight Whitney, John Bascom, James A. Garfield, and—Amos Eaton. Eaton's name led all the rest. Why then, in view of such distinction, have we had to wait for almost one hundred years for this biography? The answer is given on the first page of the preface. Eaton spent four years in prison, from his thirty-sixth to his fortieth year. Because of the "natural reluctance" on the part of his family to divulge the facts relating to this period of his life, no biography appeared. As it turned out, however, the family archives did not supply any of the information relating to this period of Eaton's life. The author of this excellent biography went directly to the court records and newspapers of that day—all of which have been available for over one hundred years.

Were Amos Eaton living today, he would be serving as chairman of one of the scientific boards engaged in national defense. He could serve with distinction on any one of a half-dozen or more boards. Military and civilian forces alike would soon come to know and respect this man of science. Early in his career, while he was lecturing in Northampton, Massachusetts, there were a United States senator, a congressman, a Common Pleas judge, seven lawyers, three Yale students, and "the first people of both sexes" crowding his lecture hall. His reputation quickly spread throughout the neighboring states. Governor Clinton invited him to Albany in 1817 to give lectures on agricultural chemistry before members of the New York legislature. Result: a bill establishing the State Agricultural Society was passed and signed at the next session of the legislature, 1819. In 1820 he was employed to make a geological survey of Albany County. This, he believed, was the first attempt ever made in the United States to collect and arrange

geological facts with a direct view to the improvement of agriculture. Stephen Van Rensselaer was chairman of the county Agricultural Society at this time, and here began a friendship that was to mean much to the wealthy patroon and this man of science. Scarcely had the county survey been completed when Van Rensselaer sponsored a much larger undertaking, an agricultural and geological survey of the Erie Canal, from Albany to Buffalo.

In 1824 Eaton launched his most important move, that of enlisting the aid of Stephen Van Rensselaer in founding in Troy a school for training chemists, agricultural scientists, geologists, and instructors in natural philosophy. His proposal was quickly accepted, and classes were started in January, 1825. Learning by doing was Eaton's educational policy. He was an educational pioneer. He advocated coeducation and permitted such women students as Emma Willard, Mary Lyon, Laura Johnson, Almira Lincoln Phelps, and others to attend his classes. He introduced extension courses. He also introduced the Flotilla School and took students on steamboat and canal boats from New York to Albany, then to Lake Erie and return, "studying natural history on the spot". Eaton was justly proud of his work at Rensselaer Institute. Only a month before he died, in 1842, he prepared a statement in the course of which he said that the institute had furnished more than half of the state geologists of the Union and a large proportion of the civil engineers and teachers of natural science in this country.

This is an excellent biography. It is well documented and sympathetically written. It appears at an appropriate time. It should result in bringing forth similar biographies, revealing to students of American history these early men of science who, at long last, are coming to share a deserved place in our nation's history.

University of Pittsburgh.

JOHN WILLIAM OLIVER.

Elias Boudinot, Cherokee, and his America. By RALPH HENRY GABRIEL. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1941. Pp. xv, 190. \$2.00.)

HAD the Cherokee Indian whose native name signified "the Buck", but who assumed the name of Elias Boudinot, been born of old New England stock in Connecticut, the rest of his story might have followed almost as a matter of course, and he might be instanced along with Lyman Beecher as an embodiment of Puritan culture in the early nineteenth century. He was more Puritan than most Puritans. Educated at the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall and at Andover Theological Seminary, he inevitably imbibed the missionary spirit; that he should then go to work among the Cherokees was to be expected, but he went less as a prophet of his own people than as a Yankee bearing the doctrine of Edwards. He was as close in mind and outlook to his fellow missionary, Samuel Worcester, as to his tribe, and

Worcester came from Vermont and married a schoolmate of Mary Lyon. Indeed, Boudinot fitted in so completely to the pattern that he too married a true-blue Yankee girl, Harriet Gold, daughter of a deacon, granddaughter of ministers, with sisters married either to deacons or ministers. She married Boudinot literally in spite of Hell, for the match caused a furious uproar in Cornwall: she was burned in effigy, her own brother setting fire to the barrel; she was denounced as a criminal by Lyman Beecher; the husband of one sister showered her with dissertations to prove the fine distinction between going among the heathen for the love of Christ and "going among them merely because we will go", while another brother-in-law—this one a deacon and a general in the Connecticut militia—accused her of sacrificing her family to the gratification of her "animal feelings". If what she felt for Boudinot included any element of animality, she did not permit it to appear, and in the hour of her ordeal she depended upon wholly other supports: "Never before did I so much realize the worth of religion. . . . I have seen the time when I could close my eyes upon every earthly object and look up to God as my only supporter." It seems that the swarthy child of Andover, no less than its whiter sons, desired exactly this frame of mind in his bride.

Mr. Gabriel's volume is not a detailed study of Cherokee history. Mr. Dudley L. Vail put into his hands some letters of the Gold family, which center principally on the episode of the marriage, and Mr. Gabriel has built his narrative about that scene, professing more interest in the pattern of early nineteenth century New England than in Indian affairs. The pattern emerges with as great clarity as can ever be found in the pages of a Dwight or a Beecher, and the Indian student at Cornwall put it succinctly into one sentence addressed to a school benefactor: "Pray for me that my faith fail not, and that I may not finally prove insincere." To cap the irony of the story, Boudinot encountered tragedy as a direct consequence of his New England conscience and his anxious determination never to be insincere. Realizing that the Cherokees could not hold the Georgia lands, the honest Boudinot set his hand to a treaty giving up the ancestral estate but neglected to secure the consent of the tribe because they were under the sway of demagogues who were urging them to stand fast. He was forced into exactly such a predicament as only a Calvinist God contrives for the trial of His saints; he did a wrong that a good might come of it, but he had to pay the price of wrongdoing and was slaughtered by the outraged Indians. The ultimate significance of the story might well have been lost had it been presented merely as part of the whole Cherokee saga, and therefore we are the more indebted to Mr. Gabriel for his admirable restraint and the judicious principles of selection which enable us to focus directly and understandingly upon the inner meaning of the drama of Elias and Harriet.

Harvard University.

PERRY MILLER.

The Shaker Adventure. By MARGUERITE FELLOWS MELCHER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 319. \$3.00.)

THE reviewer made a visit to the New Lebanon Shaker colony a short time after this book was published. A copy of it lay upon the table in the center of the neat room of the gentle gray-clad sister, A. Rosanna Stephens. Replying to a question on the community's opinion of the work, she said, "We feel that the author has been quite fair with us." A reader from among the "world's people" must agree. Certainly there is no adverse criticism that could shock a "Believer". If the excellent book has a weakness, it lies in the lack of such criticism.

Mrs. Melcher sees the spiritual origin of the Shakers in the Camisards of France, who came into being after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It seems not illogical that the miserable life of many of England's humble of the mid-eighteenth century should have produced such a sect. Nor is it illogical, considering the manner in which its members departed from common beliefs and common practices, that they should have found life in England unbearable and moved to America.

New York and New England did not receive them with joy, and for several years they were subjected to persecution. (One thinks of "Jehovah's Witnesses".) Their neighbors, however, finally came to recognize them as harmless socially while they had to admire their success in an economic sense. At the time of their greatest strength, around 1840, there were nineteen communities, scattered from New England to Kentucky. New Lebanon, the first to be firmly organized, exercised the headship.

The basic principles of Shaker belief challenged attention: confession of sins, community of goods, celibacy, withdrawal from the world. The third point was due, the author suggests, to the fact that "Mother" Ann Lee, the founder, very early "felt great repugnance toward all physical manifestations of sex". Sex seemed to her to be at the root of all life's ugliness; it must, therefore, be bad in itself. As the "anointed successor of Jesus—the mother incarnation of the word of God", Mrs. Lee spent her life in establishing her sect. It was fairly well organized when she died in 1784.

The removal of the small original band from England to America almost on the eve of the Revolution and the manner in which they overcame serious obstacles were notable achievements. One must admire their courage and their industry, even though he sees a lack of logic in their way of life.

One who has examined the work of their hands will endorse Mrs. Melcher's declaration that "they left a legacy of beauty: the beauty that follows order, the beauty that comes unsought when the lines are right". Notable leaders of the group other than Mrs. Lee were Richard Darrow and Richard McNemar, to name only the strongest.

In view of the tenets of the Shakers, it is not surprising that the communities are fast closing. Even New Lebanon, which once numbered six

hundred "Believers", now shelters scarcely a score, all elderly sisters. The work of the farm is performed by men hired from among the "world's people".

In this work, excellent as to format and composition, Mrs. Melcher has made a fine contribution to the history of the social experiments of the nineteenth century.

New York State College for Teachers.

WATT STEWART.

The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891. By RAYFORD W. LOGAN. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 516. \$5.00.)

THE comprehensive Bemis and Griffin, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States*, which appeared in 1935, contained no special section on Haiti. This omission reflected in a measure the lack of monographs at that time. With the exception of Dr. Treudley's admirable brief study there was no account of our relations with the little Caribbean country. This situation has now changed. Within the last four years no fewer than three books have treated the subject, namely, *The United States and Santo Domingo, 1798-1873: A Chapter in Caribbean Diplomacy*, by Charles Callan Tansill, *Haiti and the United States, 1714-1938*, by Ludwell Lee Montague, and the volume under review. All three bear witness to the importance of the subject; all three are a credit to American scholarship; all three illustrate the truism that a historical field is seldom so well worked as not to profit from the labors of a fresh investigator. A comparison appears to be in order at this time.

Professor Logan's study differs in several respects from those of his predecessors. Both Tansill and Montague (despite the initial date in the title of the latter's book) treat the eighteenth century very briefly, while Logan devotes a third of his pages to the period from 1776 to 1804. Here he describes, among other topics, the role of the then leading French colony of Saint Domingue in the War of American Independence, as well as the later efforts of Moustier and Fauchet to bring about the retrocession of Louisiana to France in order to assure Saint Domingue of mainland support. As regards the nineteenth century, Logan carries the story further than Tansill (the latter half of Tansill's book deals almost exclusively with the Dominican Republic) and treats it more fully than Montague. In fact, within the chronological limits covered, this volume contains more information on our relations with Haiti and a far more extensive bibliography than either of the others. This is not to say, of course, that it replaces them entirely. Other points aside, Professor Tansill alone tells the full story of the Maitland Mission (Logan prints in translation the text of the Maitland Convention of 1798), and Professor Montague provides us with a bird's-eye view of the subject as a whole, a valuable chapter on Haiti itself, "Terra incognita", and several useful maps.

In respect of tone, Professor Logan writes slightly more in the spirit of Ranke than do those who preceded him. To illustrate, he never permits the reader to forget that Haiti, the second country in this hemisphere to win its independence, was discriminated against because its people were black, and that our government long deferred recognition of Haitian independence while granting the favor to other Latin-American states. Yet he is content to let the facts speak for themselves. He is both objective and interesting. His approach will scarcely please our hotspurs, white and colored, who venerate only background history. But his book and the others mentioned above are likely to be found useful long after the passions of our present have passed into limbo.

The National Archives.

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.

The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830. By ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER, University of Pennsylvania. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1938, The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. Pp. xx, 632. \$3.75.)

DURING the past generation American scholars have made many contributions to the history of our Latin-American relations in their formative period before 1830; they have unearthed new evidence through multi-archival research, and new viewpoints have stimulated the study of the influence of public opinion and of economic interests on those relations. There has been, accordingly, a real need for a reappraisal and synthesis such as is attempted here. The author has made an exhaustive study of the monographs relating to the subject, including Latin-American publications often neglected, and his fair and stimulating critique of his predecessors in the field is especially valuable because he has re-examined the principal sources and has made effective use of new manuscript material drawn from South American archives and from this country.

Professor Whitaker has woven into his account of United States policy the story of our early commercial contacts with Latin America, of popular attitudes toward the region, sources of knowledge concerning it, and the part played by the navy, thus giving his volume a welcome breadth of view. The main theme opens with the short-lived appearance in Jefferson's time of the "Large Policy of 1808", based on the idea of excluding Europe from American affairs. This was nullified by events which led the United States under Madison to adopt a cautious attitude toward the Spanish American Revolution. But American neutrality was qualified by friendliness toward the rebels. By 1822 it became possible for the Monroe administration to take the step of recognition without undue risk, and in the following year the Monroe Doctrine marked another step forward. A trend toward isolation then set in as dreams of commercial advantage in Latin America faded and

as disorder grew there. The doctrine was narrowly interpreted, and the country turned toward domestic expansion. The efforts of Adams and Clay to press the continental policy were blocked, but the declaration remained as basic American doctrine, to be implemented as occasion directed.

The author shows how "national interest and republican zeal were entwined in American policy". Similarly, the shifting character of the land, shipping, and commercial interests are indicated, and the influence of the fluctuating European situation is clearly analyzed. Undoubtedly Professor Whitaker's study of the genesis of the Monroe Doctrine will arouse the greatest general interest. On the whole, Perkins's interpretation is here confirmed, though with greater stress on Monroe's leadership and on the part played by Richard Rush. These chapters contain the first comprehensive evaluation of the views of Worthington Ford, Perkins, Robertson, Webster, Schellenberg, and other writers on the doctrine.

The author minimizes the contribution of John Quincy Adams, whose voluminous writings have led many to exaggerate his influence and to underestimate Monroe's, but in the opinion of the reviewer he somewhat overstates his case. Though in the discussions of 1823 Monroe was undoubtedly the directing figure, there is ample evidence, in this volume alone, of the vital part played by the Yankee statesman. It also seems open to doubt whether the stress placed on the "Large Policy of 1808" is wholly justified. Though important in the light of later developments, it was, at the time, a brief interlude never seriously implemented. Apart from such matters of emphasis in interpretation, there is little to say in qualification of the book's indisputable excellence. Errors of detail are few and insignificant. No mention is made, however, of Clay's campaign of 1820 in favor of recognition of the rebels, the first instance in which the House supported him on this issue. A brief bibliographical note discusses manuscript sources used and a few other works, and an author index and full footnote citations take the place of the usual bibliography. The general index is excellent.

The term definitive, once a favorite of reviewers, has become outmoded, but it is not too much to say that Professor Whitaker has done more than any one previous author to clarify our Latin-American relations during the critical period that was in so many ways similar to our own.

Vassar College.

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN.

Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences. III, *An Appraisal of Walter Prescott Webb's "The Great Plains: A Study in Institutions and Environment"*. By FRED A. SHANNON. With Comments by WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB, a Panel Discussion, and a Commentary by READ BAIN. [Bulletin 46.] (New York: Social Science Research Council. 1940. Pp. xi, 254. \$1.00.)

In September, 1937, the Social Science Research Council set up a com-

mittee to assay "the quality of completed pieces of research in the various social sciences". The move was justified by the assertion that "book reviews, even in professional journals, often fail to perform this function satisfactorily". The procedure was to select a work, appoint an appraiser, and meet in September, 1939, for a report and a discussion among author, appraiser, and a selected group of experts. The hope was thereby to "focus the attention of scholars more sharply on the underlying principles of social science and to assist in developing criteria of judgment and standards of performance that would help students to identify good work as well as to produce it".

In the field of American history the committee selected Professor Walter P. Webb's book, *The Great Plains*, because it had been hailed on all sides "as a landmark in historiography". It selected Professor Fred A. Shannon as the appraiser. From the instructions given and from the appraiser's introductory remarks one suspects that the motto of the committee was "The bigger they are the harder they fall", and that the appraiser definitely understood that his assignment was "to break down the author's major contentions".

It should be said in the very beginning that Professor Shannon is a scholar of distinction in his own field. His field, however, is not the Great Plains nor even Western American history. His interest in that direction was so small that, according to his own statement, he had never read Professor Webb's book, published in 1931, until the summer of 1938, when the committee set him at the task. Yet he knew that the book had been hailed as "one of the most important histories that have been published in this generation". The reasons for his selection by the committee must, therefore, have been personal rather than "natural".

With a thoroughness worthy of the high purposes of the committee, Professor Shannon proceeded to ask: "What are the major theses of the author? How well does he substantiate them? Has the evidence on all sides of the question been given due consideration? Is any particular hypothesis a new one or merely an old one in new dress? If it is well established by the author, what is its importance?" His answers were all against the merits of Professor Webb's work. The author of *The Great Plains*, he asserted, did not even possess a clear understanding of where the Plains began. Webb was entirely wrong in his assumption of their unique influence on men and institutions. The book contained little that was new and less that was original. It was filled with unsound generalizations supported by a deliberate ignoring of facts which did not fit the theses and by the use of contradictory facts which did support them. Only in a few minor details and in the effort "to apply a combined geographic and technological interpretation to a phase of American historical development" could Professor Shannon find any contribution to the social sciences.

Professor Webb refused to accept all this as an appraisal of his book. It

struck him as a wholesale condemnation and as a complete failure to understand the purpose or meaning of the volume. He refused to defend his work and stated in no uncertain terms his reasons for rejecting "the Shannon Manuscript". One gathers that the atmosphere of the conference was not that calm, judicious sort so much recommended for scholarly considerations.

As to the merits of the controversy, it may be said that some of Professor Shannon's criticisms seem to be fair and sound. Others are both unfair and unsound. His general approach and the temper of his criticisms are bad. Professor Webb does use a rather elastic definition of the Plains, and he does at times seem to overstate his case. He probably did not exhaust any one of the many subjects treated. He seems even to have missed a few important sources. But to pick up every exception to a perfectly sound generalization in a work of this kind, to take statements out of a larger setting and apply strictly scientific tests to them as single entities, and to reject an author's techniques for the study of a cultural area and substitute a totally different set, are not sound or fair methods even in appraisals.

The more important point, however, is that critic and author were working on two entirely different levels. Webb spoke as a creator. He unblushingly insisted that he had "never asserted that The Great Plains [was] history". It was "a work of art" which satisfied the author's "creative desire". He had attempted to "view the entire round of life in the Great Plains from the geological foundations to the literary and mystical superstructure". He had to delve into many different fields and attempt to integrate them. He had to deal with flavors and other intangible things. His emphasis, of necessity, had to be on differences, while similarities between this cultural area and others had to be taken more or less for granted. He had even to assume that his major thesis, that human beings coming into the Plains area with instruments adapted to a humid climate would have to modify them, would be accepted generally because of its appeal to common sense.

Professor Shannon, on the other hand, was dealing with a problem in abstract historical methods. His was a classroom exercise done in the most approved fashion, as his old instructor in methods would have had it done. He missed the living, breathing world which Webb had caught and pressed into his pages. He was dealing with "facts" and "generalizations"; he was examining "witnesses" and "weighing evidence". He was, in fact, demonstrating why the historian has so often failed to make any impression on the wider public and the creative mind. Most of the time he seems not to have had the slightest conception of what Webb was trying to do or the value of what he had done. This was quickly revealed when Professors Dale and Osgood, who know the Plains from both experience and thorough study, accepted all of Professor Webb's major contentions.

The Council's experiment in reviewing the reviewers must be pronounced

a failure from every angle. The reasons were in part due to the quite "un-historical" manner in which the whole job was undertaken.

University of Chicago.

AVERY CRAVEN.

Zachary Taylor: Soldier of the Republic. By HOLMAN HAMILTON. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1941. Pp. xviii, 335. \$3.50.)

ZACHARY Taylor's victories at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, and Buena Vista resulted in a presidential boom which promoted publication of sundry campaign biographies and pamphlets. A generation later General Oliver O. Howard produced a narrative account (1892), the last effort to chronicle the events of Taylor's career. The twelfth President of the United States has waited overlong for a biography prepared in accordance with the principles of critical historical scholarship. Mr. Holman Hamilton's *Zachary Taylor: Soldier of the Republic* is the first part of a contemplated two-volume work undertaken with a view of exhausting the materials and presenting them in an objective manner. The present volume carries the story through the Mexican War and is, of course, essentially a narrative of frontier military defense, with incidental mention of family affairs, politics, and Taylor's interest in agriculture. The chronological arrangement is very proper for the major military theme, but a clearer picture of the Taylor family would have been promoted if materials relating to it had been assembled, and certainly a chapter on Taylor's farming interests would have depicted his genuine love for the soil much better than scattered items. Similarly, his views on public and political questions before the Mexican War—limited as they are—would have been more intelligible if they had been analyzed as a unit.

The curious thing about Taylor's military career is that he progressed so slowly for forty years, only to be catapulted into significance by the course of events during the Mexican War. From 1808, when he was commissioned first lieutenant in the United States army, until his fateful opportunity arrived in the roaring forties, he had served on almost every frontier in a crescent from Michigan to Florida—and had attained the rank of brevet brigadier general. Why was "the forgotten commander of forgotten frontier outposts" (p. 160) assigned to the strategic post at Fort Jesup on the eve of the Mexican War? "Taylor's record", Mr. Hamilton says, "his experience in three wars, and his long service in the Southwest combined to make him a logical person for the assignment" (p. 157).

Throughout most of the volume Mr. Hamilton attains a high degree of objectivity. He is a journalist and, the reviewer assumes, untrained in historical method; yet his exhaustive research and careful documentation set a standard which few historians surpass. Meticulous verification would have eliminated countless minor errors in quoting, albeit in this premise the author does no more violence to absolute accuracy than seminar-trained

students. A few stories of doubtful authenticity are utilized, but ordinarily fancy is distinguished from fact. Mr. Hamilton has a wholesome appreciation for his subject and a sympathetic understanding of him; he does not hesitate, however, to indicate the mistakes Taylor made. Only occasionally, in unguarded moments, is he guilty of subjective treatment, as when he says that "Right was on her side" (p. 39) in alluding to the United States and the War of 1812. On the other hand, his critical appraisal of Polk's political-mindedness in the conduct of the Mexican War is most commendatory.

One cannot put the biography aside without feeling that the author has portrayed the essential characteristics of Zachary Taylor. He emphasizes "his simplicity, humility and rare common sense" (p. 197); he pictures him as a homespun figure who "was at his best in instilling the rank and file with confidence" (p. 228). His "habits, clothes, opinions, tastes reflected the sort of man he was—plain, without pretense, almost painfully straightforward" (p. 117). Despite creditable service in frontier defense he preferred farming and the discussion of agricultural problems to the direction of an army.

The merit of the volume may be due in part to the scores of scholars whose aid is acknowledged and to members of the Taylor family who placed materials at Mr. Hamilton's disposal, but the credit for producing an estimable work belongs mainly to him. The author's predecessor on the Fort Wayne, Indiana, *Journal-Gazette*, Claude G. Bowers, contributes an introduction.

Louisiana State University.

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON.

Iowa Pioneer Foundations. By GEORGE F. PARKER. Two volumes. [Iowa Centennial History.] (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1940. Pp. 532; 571. \$3.00 each.)

THESE two volumes were published, after the death of the author, from manuscripts in the custody of the State Historical Society of Iowa. The author lived in Iowa for many years and drew heavily upon his own observations and conversation with many early settlers. The purpose of the author is defined when he states, concerning the pioneer: "I am more concerned to examine this grim, sad figure as a human being in the chance of discovering some of the primary elements in his philosophy, than to reach a definite verdict about him as an historic entity" (I, 25). The period covered in this work (1830-70) reflects the early migration to a new land and the gradual transition of a frontier state of society to that of a more civilized region. It must be stated, however, that the lack of any bibliography or footnotes is a serious handicap. The author is prone to make sweeping statements, to announce generalizations and conclusions, and to set forth figures and tables with little or no clue to the research employed or materials used.

The first volume of this series is devoted to a long introduction and to

a series of chapters dealing with early settlement, land and population elements, government, transportation, agriculture, industry, religion, and education. The author feels that history thus far written does not do ample justice to the West and points to *The Winning of the West* by Theodore Roosevelt as the type of work which should be extended. Neither does he believe that the "Pioneer" has ever been comprehended in his essential features. The blame for this lack of understanding is placed on the present educational system and the fact that "no historian has interpreted the philosophy" of the westward movement (I, 52).

So far as the author adheres to descriptive material dealing with pioneer life in early Iowa, the work is interesting and well done. The chapters on religion are particularly worth while, although even here there is the tendency to generalize on motives and to ascribe an understanding which often seems doubtful. A vein of fierce defense runs through the volumes, as though the pioneers have been misunderstood and their reputations blackened by modern writers. After discussing the use of liquor as a "specific for snake-bites and either to prevent or cure malaria", the author states that "any person with smallest intelligence by giving a moment's thought to the question would know historically as he would in its presence that the great wilderness from the Atlantic to the Wabash, and the greater prairie beyond, were not conquered by a race of persistent, irredeemable drunkards" (I, 335).

In Volume II emphasis is placed on the social aspects of frontier life and the impact of the Civil War. The social structure, woman's place in society, the family, amusements and recreation, crime and punishment, sickness and medical care—all receive attention. Again there appears the tendency to philosophize concerning the many spiritual qualities of the pioneer and those forest virtues which people today "have forgotten".

The two volumes are handsomely bound, and the format is excellent. While it is doubtful if the volumes add much to the field of Western history, they are readable and contain some excellent descriptive chapters on the early life and hardships of Iowa pioneers.

Northwestern University.

TRACY E. STREVEY.

A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple during his Explorations for a Railway Route from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in the Years 1853 & 1854. Edited and annotated by GRANT FOREMAN. [American Exploration and Travel.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1941. Pp. xv, 298. \$3.00.)

In the publication of *A Pathfinder in the Southwest*, Grant Foreman has added another to his long list of authoritative publications on Southwestern history. This most recent volume is presented by him as a companion to the two journals of Captain Marcy, edited by him with historical introductions and published under the titles, *Adventurer on Red River* (1937) and *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (1939).

On graduation from the United States Military Academy in 1841, Amiel Weeks Whipple was commissioned a second lieutenant of artillery but was soon transferred to the topographical engineers. From 1844 to 1849 he was engaged in surveying the northeastern boundary of the United States, and from 1849 to 1852 he worked with the joint commission engaged in making the boundary of the United States and Mexico. From 1853 to 1856, accompanied by scientists and artists, he was engaged in locating the route for a railroad to the Pacific along the thirty-fifth parallel. It is Whipple's own story of this survey that is here edited by Foreman with notes and a historical introduction.

The itinerary recorded from day to day by this educated young man is an interesting human journal of the Southwest. Whipple describes the natives and native ruins of the area visited, the Spanish-Mexican settlements, the physiography of the country, and its rugged beauty. Seven colored illustrations, artistically executed, and a map are contained in the volume. The map shows the country of Whipple's survey from Fort Smith across the Southwest by way of Albuquerque, New Mexico, the present Flagstaff, Arizona, then to Needles, Barstow, through Cajon Pass, and on to San Pedro, California.

This survey played an important part in subsequent history. It called attention to fertile lands in Oklahoma and Texas. More important, the map and narrative presaged a transcontinental railroad along the thirty-fifth parallel from St. Louis and Fort Smith through Oklahoma and the country west to the Pacific. Secretary Jefferson Davis praised Whipple's work for its full and exact observations and the scientific research into all fields collateral to the questions which his exploration was designed to solve.

Grant Foreman has rendered a valuable service to scholarship by making easily available this work, accessible until now only in government archives or in collections of rare books in private and public libraries. *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* is carefully and adequately edited. The footnotes contain a wealth of explanatory and collateral information. They are placed where they belong in a work of this kind—at the bottom of the pages in the narrative. Some question might be raised as to numbering these by chapters instead of consecutively through the book. The editor's introduction, though brief, presents with comprehension and historical appreciation the railroad question, which motivated the expedition. It gives an adequate background to Whipple's narrative. The publisher, the University of Oklahoma Press, has done its work well.

Santa Barbara State College.

WILLIAM H. ELLISON.

Gold Rush by Sea. From the Journal of GARRETT W. LOW. Edited by KENNETH HANEY. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. Pp. vi, 187. \$2.00.)

Anybody's Gold: The Story of California's Mining Towns. By JOSEPH HENRY JACKSON. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1941. Pp. xiv, 467. \$5.00.)

IN spite of the huge number of published writings in regard to the California gold rush and the mining era which followed, there appears to be no end to possible additions to the story. This fact is borne out by the two volumes here mentioned, each of which makes its own contribution.

Numerous diaries or accounts of the sea voyage to California have been published, but none excels the present diary in intimacy, vividness, and wit. In fact, the style is such that the whole thing might easily be regarded as fiction if its authenticity were not so thoroughly attested. Even so, the editor suggests that the names of the author's fellow passengers may be fictitious. The journal describes the voyage of Garrett W. Low and his brother Joel around the Horn between December 8, 1850, and June 3, 1851, on a ship that was probably the *Washington Irving*, under Captain Plumer; and later, from Valparaiso, on a famous clipper ship, the *John Bertram*, under Captain Frederick Lendholm. The other first-cabin passengers included a sophisticated Harvard professor, a minister with a weakness for women which betrayed him, an elderly gentleman and his young and "bubbly" wife, and two young and lovely sisters, who may or may not have been as virtuous as they should have been. At any rate, these two ladies soon had the entire company—first-cabin passengers, the ship's officers, and members of the crew—in turmoil; and they ultimately involved the passengers in a bitter feud with the brutal, drunken captain. Added to these tempests in human relationships were the terrific storms that for weeks beat the ship about on a crazy, zigzag course as she attempted to round the Horn. After landing at Valparaiso, the ship-weary passengers experienced the thrills of a severe earthquake. Here, fortunately, they secured passage on a better vessel. While the remainder of the voyage to San Francisco was fraught with dangers and hardships, it was comparatively uneventful, as was also the time spent by the diarist in the mining regions.

Anybody's Gold may not contain much that is new to thorough students of California mining history, but it brings into one volume a large amount of information collected from scattered sources that ordinarily would escape the attention of the general reader. The tourist will find a very serviceable guide in the latter part of the volume, dealing with the mines today. The reader will likewise be attracted by the interesting and beautiful drawings by E. H. Suydam depicting present-day scenes in the old mining towns. The historical part of the book occupies about 275 pages, divided into a prologue describing pre-gold-rush California; eight chapters devoted to various phases of the gold rush and of life in the mining regions; and an epilogue concerned with later developments. The presentation is episodic in character, organized around the experiences of individuals who were either

outstanding or typical in mining, banditry, stagecoaching, entertainment, business, or other activities. The author's fine literary style makes the book very readable. While there are no footnote references, there are many quotations, the sources of which are indicated in the text. A serviceable reading list is found at the close of the volume.

University of Oregon.

DAN E. CLARK.

The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1870. By ROBERT GLASS CLELAND. [Huntington Library Publications.] (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1941. Pp. xiv, 327. \$3.50.)

As the first substantial contribution to California history for which the Huntington Library can take major credit, this volume is a noteworthy event. Heretofore the Huntington has functioned chiefly as a center for research in English history and letters, and though its collection of Californiana is second only to that at the Bancroft, its potentialities in the field of local history have been largely unrealized. Not the least significant attainment of Mr. Cleland in *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills* is to illustrate the richness of this depository, especially in newspaper and manuscript materials relating to California's early American period.

Historians of southern California have long paid lip service to the generalization that the decades of the fifties and sixties were a transition period in which American social, economic, and political ways gradually took the place of Mexican. It remained for Mr. Cleland, however, to explore this concept with any thoroughness. His first three chapters trace the economic background, discussing the first land grants in 1784, the accelerated growth of the ranchos in the thirties and forties, and the vital blow to the old regime in the Land Act of 1851. In the next two hundred pages, the main body of the book, the author describes life on the ranchos and society in flux, charts the rise of the cattle boom as the mines created a sudden market for beef and the collapse of this boom as the market declined, analyzes the breakup of the ranchos through taxes, usurious interest, drought, and epidemic, and describes the experimental groping toward a new economy which in the end held promise of a new social and economic order. The last chapter treats Abel Stearns as the personification of this age of transition.

Though focused on the Los Angeles area, the book is in part a commentary on the ills the whole state was a prey to. It is especially informative on such matters as Indian depredations, cattle rustling, homicides and hold-ups, lawlessness, and vigilante action. This printing is marred by an undue number of errors in detail, none of which, however, alters the validity of the general picture presented. The narrative is set forth in a style distinguished for clarity and occasional eloquence, and the book is extraordinarily rich in suggestions of topics for further investigation.

University of California at Los Angeles.

JOHN WALTON CAUGHIEY.

Crusader in Crinoline: The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe. By FORREST WILSON. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1941. Pp. 706. \$3.75.)

THIS new life of Harriet Beecher Stowe is to be welcomed for the reinterpretation of known material and for the presentation of new evidence, particularly 175 unpublished letters mostly taken from the files of the Huntington Library. Not only has *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had the largest circulation of any American novel, but the characterizations of New England life in a series of novels, *Oldtown Folks*, for example, have given Mrs. Stowe a position among writers of fiction quite aside from the propaganda records of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Dred*.

Mr. Wilson, however, has gone far beyond the biography of an individual and has ably presented the Beecher-Stowe clan as a robust, migrating, professional family of mid-nineteenth century vintage, not yet swamped by the new industrialism. Here is the middle-class family, which so distinguished that period, portrayed by an eager student of documents. The large group will interest the reader more than any one individual, for it contained in its ranks reformers, preachers, teachers, editors, suffragists, and antisuffragists. All were critics of current ideas—they had never a dull moment; nor has the reader who likes this earlier, hearty America.

Moreover, in following the fortunes of these men and women Mr. Wilson has given a portrait of an age. In his words: "A Beecher was always appearing on some battlefield, literary, political, ecclesiastical, or actual. It must have been about this time that Dr. Bacon (who liked them) made his famous remark that 'this country is inhabited by saints, sinners, and Beechers'" (p. 496).

All but overwhelmed by masses of materials, the author states his problem: "Few famous American lives have left so broad a track of themselves, reckoned from the cradle to the grave, as Harriet Beecher Stowe's. Most of our celebrities were not born to fame, and so the periods of their childhood remain obscure. Mrs. Stowe was born into a family already famous, a family of gifted and alert people who wrote an abundance of letters and preserved them" (p. 643). Encyclopedic, this work is so full of interesting digressions as to remind one of Boswell's *Johnson*, and it suggests reading on selected topics, easily chosen from chapter headings, the full index, or by an occasional follow-up of references in the bibliography. Based primarily on Stowe sources, the historian will not find a complete account of events. To cite one omission in the field of Anglo-American relations, there is no mention of E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*.

In the judgment of the reviewer, Mr. Wilson's chief contribution is his critical evaluation of all the writings of Mrs. Stowe. Following the publication of *Dred* in 1856, she wrote constantly until the publication of *Poganuc People* in 1878, nearly always for money and ever in a hurry. Some of this product was ordinary journalism; other work belongs to American literature.

Mr. Wilson has gone through it all, tracts, novels, and poetry, and given a fresh appraisal. His final judgment is: "whatever one may think of her art and technique, [she] was one of earth's greatest story tellers" (p. 513). She was easily the most widely read American novelist for almost a generation, and her work was urgently solicited by *The Atlantic Monthly* as well as by the promoters of house-to-house subscription sets. *Oldtown Folks*, a New England story, sold twenty-five thousand copies at once and went through three editions in Great Britain. Despite its Yankee dialect it was widely translated into foreign languages. Her name was all but indispensable in building up the circulation of a new venture. *The Christian Union* doubled its circulation to ninety thousand in one year by her satire on New York life, *My Wife and I*. With a Beecher gift for controversy, she all but ruined *The Atlantic Monthly* by her article on Lord Byron.

The book is needlessly long, and the part on Mrs. Stowe's declining years could well have been shortened. Sharp epigrammatic sentences and clear-cut paragraphs strangely alternate with pages which the reader is tempted to edit to half their length. Thirty fine illustrations add much to the attractiveness of the work.

University of California at Los Angeles.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

Lincoln takes Command. By JOHN SHIPLEY TILLEY. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. xxxvii, 334. \$3.50.)

In this forthright and provocative little volume Mr. Tilley, an Alabama lawyer, undertakes to show just how war came about between the United States and the Confederacy in 1861 and to fix the responsibility therefor. He gives particular attention to the situation at Forts Sumter and Pickens from December to April and to the policies and measures of Presidents Buchanan and Lincoln, on the one side, and of the Confederate officials, on the other. His opinion is that, though Buchanan and the secessionists could not agree on the rightful possession of the forts, they hoped for a peaceful solution of their difficulties and therefore refrained from pushing their respective claims too far; but that Mr. Lincoln had made up his mind at the beginning to hold the forts at any cost and, after he became President, deliberately brought on the war.

Practically none of the evidence adduced is new, but some of it is given a new significance. For instance, Mr. Tilley shows that Lincoln and Secretary Welles, with the expectation of beginning the war, deliberately violated the truce at Pensacola arranged between the Confederates and Buchanan's Secretaries of War and the Navy. He also proves (though it has been demonstrated before) that the garrison in Fort Sumter was not being starved by the South Carolinians, as intimated by Lincoln and asserted by various historians, but that Major Anderson was allowed to buy fresh meat and vegetables in Charleston until April 7, only five days before the attack. But

Mr. Tilley is wrong in assuming that these purchases provided ample supplies. They were merely supplemental to the regular commissary rations of pork, flour, beans, sugar, coffee, etc., furnished from government stores, no more of which the Confederates would permit to be brought in. When these latter supplies should be used up, Anderson's men would have to evacuate or starve unless relieved. Mr. Tilley is also wrong in concluding that the missing Anderson letter of February 28 to Secretary Holt never existed, for there are too many contemporary evidences of its existence to leave room for doubt. On the other hand, there is nothing to sustain the statements of some historians that Anderson in that letter complained of a lack of food for his men.

The author castigates severely certain historians and biographers of Lincoln for their mistakes *in re* the Sumter affair, and he seems to be especially irritated by errors in the school textbooks, several of which he has pilloried in an appendix. But he has not himself escaped altogether, though most of his merely factual errors are of a minor character. One of them, several times repeated, dates on December 12 instead of December 21, 1860, Lincoln's letter containing his message to General Scott about holding the forts.

Many readers who may be impressed by the evidence Mr. Tilley has uncovered will be critical of the manner in which he has presented it. As a lawyer he has apparently been influenced by courtroom methods in the development of his case. He seems to assume something of the role of a state's attorney who is prosecuting one A. Lincoln, defendant, on the charge of inciting a war. At any rate, he follows rather closely the usual legal rules about the admission of evidence (even confining himself almost exclusively to official records); he presents only the case for the prosecution; he directs all his evidence against this one defendant (Seward is not even held responsible for the Pickens expedition); and he hammers repeatedly on the more incriminating bits of the record. The merits of the book are its incisive and challenging analysis of a much-disputed problem and its pungent style; its faults are that it is based on too narrow a concept of the problem, it is too partisan, and it contains too many questionable deductions. It will not settle the controversy over Lincoln's responsibility for the tragedy of Sumter, but it may stimulate renewed interest in the question.

Professor Avery Craven has contributed a brief foreword. There is no bibliography, but there is a very good index.

University of Texas.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL.

David Glasgow Farragut: Admiral in the Making. By CHARLES LEE LEWIS, United States Naval Academy. (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1941. Pp. xiv, 372. \$3.75.)

DAVID G. Farragut, one of the most aggressive sea fighters in history and the first to rise to permanent flag rank in the American navy, is at last being

treated in what promises to be a definitive biography. The subject of this review is but the first of two volumes on the great admiral. It appropriately ends with Farragut awaiting orders immediately following his decision to "go North" in 1861. The second volume is to cover Farragut's better-known Civil War career.

Loyall Farragut's life of his father, 1879, was a far more honest job than many sons of famous fathers have been able to achieve. Nevertheless, Professor Lewis is quite correct in characterizing it as "more like a compendium of source material than a finished biography". And of course the son tampered here and there with the source material to enhance the stature of the revered father. The present volume corrects these errors as casually as an English tutor marks a freshman theme.

Toward Mahan's *Life of Farragut*, published as one of the Great Commander series, 1892, Professor Lewis is more reverential. Naval historians have a habit of bowing their heads at the mention of Mahan; hence the author is in character. But Mahan's treatment of Farragut prior to 1860 is brief and but little more than a digest of Loyall Farragut's treatment of the same period. Mahan's primary interest in the admiral lay in the naval tactics used and the strategic results of Farragut's operations. Whether Professor Lewis is to supplant, or authenticate and supplement with additional details Mahan's shorter biography, largely depends upon the next volume. In the light of the present volume, a wealth of additional details and at least minor corrections are to be expected. Professor Lewis has access to materials not available to Mahan and has made use of other sources, such as ships' logs, that would have been available to Mahan had he seen fit to use them as fully as has the present biographer. Certainly Professor Lewis's painstaking and scholarly use of all materials available in writing of the admiral's education justifies keen expectations of the volume that will treat of Farragut's Civil War operations.

With all of his painstaking accuracy as to detail, Professor Lewis is not a "debunker". He does dispel the fiction that Farragut was an adopted son of the famous Commodore D. D. Porter, with its implication that the old *Essex* hero underwrote Farragut's naval future. He shows clearly why Farragut was not a member of the Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry clique, which dominated the service during the twenty years prior to the Civil War.

Moreover, Farragut emerges from this latest work as the devotee of Christianity, moral rectitude, and duty to country that other authors have presented. At the same time, Professor Lewis presents a man human enough to quarrel with a subordinate over a petty matter of naval courtesy; fully co-operative with colleagues, both naval and diplomatic; but in his last ship command perhaps out of touch with the common sailor in the forecabin.

Professor Lewis has given naval history an important book, not only for what it is but also for what it promises.

Camp Livingston, Louisiana.

JIM DAN HILL.

I rode with Stonewall: Being Chiefly the War Experiences of the Youngest Member of Jackson's Staff from the John Brown Raid to the Hanging of Mrs. Surratt. By HENRY KYD DOUGLAS. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1940. Pp. vii, 401. \$3.00.)

THROUGH the efforts of a brother officer, early in April, 1862, Henry Kyd Douglas, then a lieutenant in the Second Virginia Infantry, Stonewall Brigade, Army of the Valley, was assigned to temporary duty on the staff of Maj. Gen. T. J. Jackson. At that time Douglas, by profession a lawyer, was in his twenty-fourth year, physically strong, of winning manners, exceptionally handsome, and of great endurance. By a long, swift ride to Ewell's headquarters, east of the Blue Ridge, Douglas soon won Jackson's respect. Thereafter, until he returned to his regiment as captain in November, 1862, Douglas was a regular member of Jackson's personal staff and for a time was accounted a favorite of the general's. Even after he resumed line duty, Douglas visited Jackson's headquarters often and remained in spirit a member of the headquarters mess.

For the most interesting year of Jackson's life, that between McDowell and Chancellorsville, Douglas thus had the view, partisan but illuminating, that an observant young staff officer gets of a popular chief. Subsequent to Jackson's death, while Douglas was rising steadily to the rank of colonel and to temporary brigade command, he met most of the distinguished soldiers who had known "Old Jack", and through them he added to his own store of anecdotes. At intervals in a busy career as an attorney after the war Kyd Douglas wrote articles on his military experiences. One of these appeared in the Southern Historical Society *Papers*, two in magazines, two in *Battles and Leaders*, and one, the fullest and most discriminating, in *Annals of the War*. All of these, little changed, Douglas put together prior to April, 1899. Parts of the manuscript were circulated in West Virginia and were read at meetings of the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

While comparatively little of the book can, therefore, be considered new, it never had received publication as a whole, which it assuredly deserved. The picture given by Douglas does not change in any particular, but it enlivens, that given by other staff officers who wrote of Jackson—William Allan, R. L. Dabney, Jed Hotchkiss, James Power Smith, and R. E. Wilbourne, not to mention the amusing Maj. J. A. Harman, Jackson's quartermaster. None of these men produced so graceful and interesting a narrative. For its equal in vivid portrayal of Jackson one must go back to "Dick" Taylor's charming *Destruction and Reconstruction*. If G. F. R. Henderson (*Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War*) had possessed the whole

of Douglas's narrative, he probably would have used it as freely as he did the dull, rhetorical biography by Dabney, and perhaps to better purpose.

An unhappy defect of the memoirs of Douglas is the vague feeling which they create that, like Heros von Borcke in the case of "Jeb" Stuart, the author may have credited himself with some of the experiences of other members of the staff. To cite one instance only, Douglas stated that on May 3, 1863, he went to see Jackson, whose left arm had then been amputated, and spent an hour with the general (pp. 226-27). James Power Smith wrote that Douglas came to the Second Corps Field Hospital and told him the details of the battle of the third, which he communicated to Jackson. Whose testimony is to be accepted? The point is not material, but as it arises in several instances, it is disconcerting. Douglas's second defect, against which more positive warning must be given, is his lack of accuracy concerning a multitude of small details—crediting the "Winchester" picture of Jackson to Lupton instead of Routzahn (p. 199), confusion of J. R. Jones and D. R. Jones (p. 161), mistakes concerning the time A. P. Hill was restored to command (p. 158), incorrect dating of a famous exchange between Jackson and his medical director (p. 141), an error of a full month in the time Douglas left Appomattox (p. 335), and a score of similar slips. For general impressions of Jackson and for impressionistic sketches of several of Jackson's brigade and staff officers, Douglas may be consulted freely and cited safely. Where accuracy is involved, Douglas's dates, names, and incidents should be confirmed from other sources.

The chapter on the trial of Lincoln's alleged assassins is odd and spirited and is a portrayal from the unusual angle of an unseen witness in the next room. Douglas's observations add little to previous knowledge of that inquisition.

Richmond, Virginia.

DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN.

Justice in Grey: A History of the Judicial System of the Confederate States of America. By WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xxi, 713. \$7.50.)

THE scope of this work is enormous. Opening with the dramatic story of how Judge Andrew G. Magrath divested himself of his judicial robes and declared the temple of justice closed in Charleston, South Carolina, on the day after Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency, it describes in great detail the entire legal system of the Confederate States of America. It contains an account of the organization and operation of the state and federal courts, including military tribunals, quasi-judicial boards and commissions, territorial and Indian courts. It tells the story of the effort to set up the Supreme Court and the Court of Claims and describes the workings of the Department of Justice, including its administration of the Patent Bureau and the Bureau of Public Printing. It presents cases where necessary to illustrate

the workings of the legal system in law and equity and in matters arising out of the war such, for instance, as sequestration, prizes, and conscription. Finally, it closes with an account of the revival and reorganization of United States courts during Reconstruction.

The Confederate courts operated efficiently and administered justice fairly and honestly. The Southern people had a distaste for martial law, and the civil courts did business as usual in Richmond in the presence of martial law. The generals also respected the decisions of the civil judges in all parts of the Confederacy. When the end came in 1865 the judicial system of the Confederacy had reached a degree of development creditable to a government of long standing.

The tone of the book is sympathetic with the South in secession, war, and Reconstruction. Mr. Robinson finds that the "aggressions of the Northern States", "the growth of paternalism in the general government", and "the marching disregard of the national majority for the constitutional rights of the minority had alarmed the entire South". He believes that the constitutional views of South Carolina would have been denied by few of the generation that framed the Constitution; he pronounces the Permanent Constitution of the Confederate States "America's crowning contribution" "to the science of representative government"; and he roundly condemns the "dire carpetbag regime" and the Reconstruction courts. In his discussion of the Confederate courts, however, Mr. Robinson's tone is detached and judicious.

The author emphasizes the fact that the Confederate courts regarded themselves as the successors of the United States courts. They took over the court dockets, continued the cases, and punished violators of the laws of the United States. The Confederacy made some important contributions to legal institutions. It gave to the civilized Indians of what is now Oklahoma "their first place in the white man's judiciary"; it set up at Key West, Florida, the first primary Admiralty Court in the United States since 1789; and it created the first Department of Justice in any Anglo-Saxon country—not until 1870 did the United States follow suit.

Mr. Robinson corrects some errors generally held about the Confederacy. He shows that sequestration yielded a considerable revenue. He refutes J. C. Schwab's contention that Confederates preferred to owe Northern creditors rather than settle their debts with the Confederate government. And he maintains that the Confederate courts in Tennessee were not closed throughout the war; he admits, however, that the Reconstruction forces attempted to efface the records of such courts.

The discussion of the Supreme Court controversy is an enlightening one. In it the author maintains that personal antagonisms rather than genuine political principles prevented the establishment of the court. He accepts the views of Augustus H. Garland, the leading proponent of the court, and con-

demns William Lowndes Yancey and his state rights group as mere obstructionists. In doing so he overlooks the fact that the state rights group was following the lead of Jefferson, Roane, and others of an earlier generation.

Mr. Robinson contrasts the attitude of Davis and Lincoln toward civil rights. He maintains that Davis scrupulously refrained from declaring martial law and from suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus until specifically authorized by Congress; whereas Lincoln did these things "*without the consent of his congress*", and his "use of extraconstitutional measures" was unrestrained. One might point out that Lincoln had extenuating circumstances; and he prevented Maryland from seceding and saved the Union. Mr. Robinson also condemns Lincoln for breaking faith with Virginia over the first step in Reconstruction. He feels that this opened the floodgate of hate and that Lincoln could not have stemmed the tide of radicalism had he not been assassinated.

Mr. Robinson unjustly condemns the group that opposed Davis over conscription and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. He holds that this group was composed of "disgruntled politicians", "disappointed seekers of favor from the government, editors whose opinions had not been accepted by the Administration, cowards who evaded military service, and other contemptibles" who hid behind state rights. There might have been some of each of these classes in the opposition, but there were also many sincere, honest men who strove to protect the rights of the people against a government they considered arbitrary and autocratic.

No such exhaustive work on the Confederate courts has heretofore been attempted, and Mr. Robinson has done such a thorough job that no one will need do it again. The author's earlier researches in Confederate history prepared him for the task of sifting the great mass of materials, including manuscript sources, such as judges' dockets and minute books of the courts, as well as published documents, both state and Confederate. Mr. Robinson has himself uncovered many heretofore unknown manuscript records of the Confederate courts. He has produced a work that will be used as a reference and source book by all students in the field but one that will seldom be read by the general public. It contains so much tedious detail and extraneous material that it is difficult reading, although the style itself is clear. Several typographical errors appear, but factual errors are few. Such errors as the statement that President Washington signed the Alien and Sedition Laws and that North Carolina had a state penitentiary in 1862 should not have slipped by.

University of North Carolina.

FLETCHER M. GREEN.

The Astors. By HARVEY O'CONNOR. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1941. Pp. viii, 488, xvi, \$3.75.)

WHILE it is perhaps no longer true that the name Astor is a symbol in

the popular mind for tremendous wealth, still it remains in common speech as a term for opulence. Mr. Harvey O'Connor tells for the first time the story of this family after John Jacob, the founder of the fortune, down through six generations to the present.

The work is divided into eight sections, starting with John Jacob, whom Mr. O'Connor terms the "first American business imperialist". Other divisions deal with William B., John Jacob III, the Mrs. Astor, John Jacob IV, and Vincent. Two treat of the Collaterals and the English Astors, of whom we have heard so much recently. Incidentally, among the Collaterals "The Amazing Chanlers" do much to relieve the general dullness of the family. Indeed Mr. O'Connor sees them as "brilliant, adventurous, gallant, and erratic a band of brothers as ever figured in the pages of American history".

Naturally one may differ with Mr. O'Connor's interpretation of the historical background. For example, one is confused, to say the least, by the statement that Louis Philippe's abdication in '48 caused the American populace to feel "that the bells of history were tolling the knell of hated feudalism". Or, again, that in 1860 a triumvirate of which William B. Astor was one really ran New York City. And was Fernando Wood shrewd, brilliant, and cultured? Was the "burning issue in the election of 1876 the resumption of specie payment"? Moreover, Mr. O'Connor's treatment of "Society" in New York is more effective than his general background of social history. But these are captious criticisms of a work whose general depiction will stand. He stresses again the thesis that it was the conversion of profits from the China trade into Manhattan real estate that made John Jacob and his descendants the wealthiest of Americans. The author's account of these real-estate dealings through the years—from the severe indictment of the Astor slums to the more enlightened policy of Vincent Astor—is a real contribution.

The book, which includes an index and an extensive bibliography, is the result of considerable research. Written in an entertaining style for the general reader, it should prove of interest and value to historians, especially those who are interested in American capitalism from the days when the Astor estate was worth over \$200,000,000 to the present, when the Bureau of Internal Revenue is drastically reducing it.

Those familiar with Mr. O'Connor's previous works will know that he writes from the liberal point of view and without bias. If the reader feels some distaste after contemplating the manner in which the Astor fortune was built and spent, that is not Mr. O'Connor's fault. It is that of the Astors.

Union College.

FREDERICK L. BRONNER.

The Wild Seventies. By DENIS TILDEN LYNCH. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1941. Pp. xv, 547. \$5.00.)

To Mark Twain it was the Gilded Age. To V. L. Parrington (*Main Currents in American Thought*, III, 4, 48) it was the decade when good

taste "reached its lowest ebb" and America was "little more than a welter of crude energy". To Mr. Lynch it was the era of carpetbaggers, Marxists, Bowery barrooms, "robots of vice", thieves, pimps, prostitutes and their police protectors, Slippery Dick, Morrissey and his "repeaters", Bone Alley, Ragpickers' Row, Five Points, whitewashing committees, tomahawk justice, hard times, strikes, and bloody mobs. Vice stalked unabashed, accompanied by crooked finance, graft, and dirty politics. Even the President was "surrounded" by corruptionists.

Typical specimens amid all this rampant wildness were Fisk and Tweed. Fisk is hastily sketched, with his garish showmanship, his "harem", his monumental frauds in league with Gould, his boasts of railroad stealing, his six-in-hand, his admiralship in the Narragansett Steamship Company, his bribery of legislators, and his assassination by an outraged rival. Tweed with his brazen corruption is treated more fully, but Mr. Lynch does not merely expose the Ring and its boss. He shows how the Ring looted the public treasury of two hundred million dollars and develops the whole sordid story of Tweed's being favored by a hung jury, sentenced, freed by a slippery court, rearrested, jailed, recaptured after escape to Cuba and Spain, transported on a warship, and recommitted to prison. Having done this, he blunts the crusading fame of Tilden and gives less than customary credit to the reformers, showing how ineffective was the wave of public indignation, how only a negligible fraction of the stolen millions was recovered, how Tweed's associates escaped, and how the master grafter himself offered to open wide the door of prosecution by confession, but how the offer was rejected because the opened door would have exposed grafters in the legislature and might have caused runs on banks and have ruined many who enjoyed silk-hatted prominence. So elaborately tangled was the Tweed skein that its unraveling would have shaken the state of New York to its foundations. It was easier to agree with the courtly Colonel Asa B. Gardiner, who remarked after a cocktail: "to hell with reform"!

Mr. Lynch avoids the paraphernalia of close research, prefers the popular appeal, and chooses the sensational as he portrays the scoundrels and political manipulators of the age. Despite all this his record is essentially factual, the sensation being inherent in the subject matter. The book is substantial as well as readable. Crowded with significant detail, it is also illumined with penetrating if sarcastic comment.

University of Illinois.

J. G. RANDALL.

The American and his Food: A History of Food Habits in the United States.

By RICHARD OSBORN CUMMINGS, Assistant Professor of History, Lawrence College. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 267. \$2.50.)

THIS volume deals with an important and hitherto very much neglected aspect of American life as far as the historian is concerned. Indeed, with the

possible exception of the social-economic historian, this vast field, rich in material for historical research, has been invaded only by the nutrition experts and governmental agencies interested primarily, until recently, in increased production. The volume under review, therefore, may well be regarded as a pioneering one. As a history of the influence of food on American life it is not exhaustive, nor does its author claim it to be. Rather it points the way for more exhaustive research and a fuller understanding of the American scene.

Of the thirteen chapters exclusive of introduction and conclusion, eight cover the period prior to the entry of the United States into World War I. Of these the first two treat of the character of farm and urban diet from 1789 to 1840, emphasizing the ill effects resulting from ignorance of bacteriology, artificial refrigeration, and proper nutrition. Then follows a short chapter entitled "Prejudices and Reformers (1830-40)", which indicates that during the decade of the 1830's—and one wonders why this decade only—prejudices, some of long standing, hindered better food habits. This decade saw too the emergence of a diet reform movement. The next chapter, "Health by Rail (1841-80)", stresses the influence of the railroad and fast steamship on the transport of milk, fruit, vegetables, and other perishable foods in terms of geographical accessibility, quantity, quality, and price. Refrigeration and the beginning of the canning industry also find places in this chapter. "And Roast Beef (1841-80)", an unusual title, perhaps, for a chapter which, in large measure, concerns the diet of the poorer people of the nation, introduces a wealth of material indicating that the diet of the workers improved during these years. Chapter VII, "The Fight against Germs (1881-1916)", as the title implies, stresses the efforts made during these years to insure purer food supplies and better medical care. The next chapter, "An Indefinable Loss (1881-1916)", briefly emphasizes the dietary losses resulting from the processing of such foods as sugar, flour, and rice. Chapter IX, "The Concept of Scientific Eating (1881-1916)", treats primarily of the application of chemistry to the problem of food and diet. The titles of the remaining chapters are self-explanatory: "Waging a War (1917-29)", "Unequal Degrees of Protection (1917-29)", "Depression and Nutrition (1929-39)", "Education and Food Costs (1929-39)", "Federal Feeding Programs (1935-40)". These chapters are principally concerned with the advance of the science of nutrition and with the efforts of the Federal government and other agencies to educate the consumer as to the significance of food choices.

As the footnote references indicate, material for this book has come from a wide variety of sources, including travel accounts, health literature, cook-books, periodicals, newspapers, and government documents. Partly because of the nature of the source material, the chapters dealing with the period prior to 1880 are, in the opinion of the reviewer, more fragmentary and

antiquarian than those which follow. Fifteen appendixes, covering such items as the League of Nations classification of foods, trends in per capita consumption of several principal foods, 1849-1938, life expectancy, weekly food budgets, and variance in use of foods and economic status, enhance the usefulness of the volume.

Columbia University.

HARRY J. CARMAN.

A Conscientious Turncoat: The Story of John M. Palmer, 1817-1900. By GEORGE THOMAS PALMER. With an Introduction by Lloyd Lewis. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. xi, 297. \$3.00.)

IN an introduction to this biography Mr. Lloyd Lewis says:

That any man who fought special privilege across the second half of the nineteenth century in American political life should have found himself in varying political organizations does not now seem strange. Yet the man who did it—John M. Palmer—was known from coast to coast as a “turncoat”. . . . But with the cool perspective of time, it can be seen that much of this apparently tortuous and turning path was merely that of an old Andy Jackson pupil following an ancient western gleam—the old frontier belief that the well-born, the well-fed, and the economically powerful are not to be trusted so much as the masses when the people’s welfare is concerned. . . . Political independence was then akin to atheism, and there was afoot only the beginning of a national attitude which, today, can be seen in the general respect shown so free a man as Senator Norris (pp. vii and x).

It so happens that the first presidential campaign of which this reviewer has a lively personal recollection is that of 1896. As the youngest member of a hard-pressed farmer family who had pinned their hopes for relief on silver and Bryan, he suffered bitter disappointment when news came that the great champion of the “people’s welfare” had been defeated. For that defeat we blamed primarily the traitorous conduct of Grover Cleveland and other Gold-Bug Democrats, whose candidate had been General John M. Palmer. That in this role he was merely a stalking-horse for “Wall Street” and all the term connoted in the agricultural South and West of that day we silverites had no doubt whatever. Therefore when I opened this book I was not prepared to have Palmer presented as a forerunner of George Norris and other Insurgents of the pre-World War Progressive era. Nor does the full reading of Palmer’s life as recorded by his grandson bear out Mr. Lewis’s statements or incline me to alter in any radical way my boyhood opinion.

We may readily grant that Palmer had a sympathetic feeling toward debt-ridden farmers and underpaid workers, but beyond favoring low tariffs for the farmer and advocating the rights of the latter to organize, there is little here to show that he had much in common with the later Progressives. As governor of Illinois from 1869 to 1873 he did veto many of the private bills of an unusually corrupt legislature. These vetoes aroused the hostility of numerous seekers for special favors. At the same time he had a

quarrel with President Grant over the use of unrequested Federal troops in policing the city of Chicago after the great fire of 1871. Under these circumstances he left the Republican party via the ill-fated Liberal Republican movement of 1872, as he had left the Democratic party in the fifties via anti-Nebraskaism. In the eighties he regained good standing in his old party, which elected him to the Senate in 1890. In Washington Palmer attacked Republican tariff and money policies, but it appears that he was none too friendly toward the second Cleveland administration at first. However, when the Democratic convention of 1896 repudiated Cleveland for free silver, Bryan, and semi-Populism, as already mentioned, he finished his career as the "front" of an organization whose members were "fellow travelers" with Old Guard Republicans.

In justice to the author it should be emphasized that he has displayed commendable restraint in not claiming for his grandfather a wisdom and greatness he did not possess. On the other hand, it cannot be said that this filial biography sheds any new light on the history of the United States during the last half of the nineteenth century.

*Woman's College of the University of
North Carolina.*

B. B. KENDRICK.

An American Democrat: The Recollections of Perry Belmont. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940; 2d ed., 1941. Pp. xvi, 705; xvi, 729. \$3.75.)

THE son of August Belmont, born just before his father went to The Hague to be successively American chargé and minister there, Perry Belmont grew up in an atmosphere of politics, diplomacy, and finance. His own career has embraced study at Harvard and the Columbia Law School, legal practice in New York City, eight years in Congress, where for a time he was chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, a brief service as minister to Spain in 1888-89, and a fairly prominent place in Democratic party councils in the time of Cleveland, Parker, and Woodrow Wilson. This record of his activities is excessively long and rambling but informative. At various points it sheds some light of value upon historical transactions of importance. As secretary to Thomas F. Bayard in 1876-77, young Belmont was an intent observer of the sittings of the Electoral Commission, and his letters to his father at that time give a sharp impression of Democratic hopes, fears, and resentments. In Congress during the Arthur administration he became interested in South American affairs, and his conviction that in 1881 Secretary of State Blaine had very improperly pushed certain bad claims against Peru led him into a dramatic clash with that leader. When Blaine arrived in Washington to appear before a House investigating committee, he announced: "I intend to give that young Belmont a lesson tomorrow morning." The actual result was an altercation which left Blaine

in an unhappy light, and Representative Belmont had the satisfaction of seeing Secretary Frelinghuysen reverse Blaine's policy. Near the close of Cleveland's first administration Belmont capably assisted in dealing with the difficult fisheries question, introducing the bill for nonintercourse with Canada which helped bring about British consent to a *modus vivendi*. It was natural for Mr. Belmont to become a Gold Democrat in 1896, and his exchange of letters with Bryan on their differences has some interest. Later he was the principal initiator of the movement for obtaining publicity for campaign contributions and expenditures; and this volume gives the fullest history in print of the progress of that crusade to victory in the passage of the law of 1911. In the stormy Baltimore Convention of 1912, where he labored for Champ Clark's nomination, he had an inside view of much factional maneuvering and naturally resented Bryan's attack on his brother August as a would-be manipulator of the gathering. But he does not establish his charge that Bryan was selfishly aiming at his own nomination for the presidency.

Mr. Belmont's memoirs are useful and at nearly every point are supported by contemporary letters and speeches. The author has been notably successful in avoiding gross inaccuracies and, except in dealing with Blaine and Bryan, shows little prejudice. One part, the long initial section on his father's activities, might better have been presented as a separate book—and could well have been expanded. In its later sections the volume would have been improved by drastic pruning, and much of the material on society, yachting, racing, polo, and the like could profitably have been omitted altogether.

Columbia University.

ALLAN NEVINS.

Der Aufstieg der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zur Weltmacht: Staat und Wirtschaft der U.S.A. im 20. Jahrhundert. Von MAX SILBERSCHMIDT, Professor an der Universität Zürich. (Aarau: Verlag H. R. Sauerländer & Co. 1941. Pp. xx, 498. 17 fr.)

THE historiographical connections between the United States and Germany or the German *Sprachgebiet* are not numerous or strong. A large number of monographs on cis- and trans-Atlantic topics has been produced, but only a few somewhat general histories of the United States in the German language and easily as few corresponding treatments of German history by Americans—too few probably for the sociologist to generalize about this want or even to classify such works except in obvious categories like sympathetic-antipathetic. The latest addition to this small shelf comes from German-speaking Switzerland in an hour when the German language has nearly lost both freedom of expression and the expression of freedom as well as the ability to make a considered judgment on America.

It reminds one forcibly that Switzerland is now the last, already imperiled seat of this freedom of expression in the German language.

Professor Silberschmidt's work, originally laid out on a much larger scale but reduced to meet the exigencies of the time, is a politico-economic history of the United States in the twentieth century, of its "state and economy". His economic interpretation suffers not from over- or under-emphasis of the business cycle, which is carefully watched, but through the omission of the difficult task of interpreting the transubstantiation of the business curve into politics and what lies beyond—the more general American thought. While we would not say that the emphasis is on the economy, greater light is shed on it than on the state. What and whom the author considers "the state" in America is nowhere apparent; and where he implies a certain understanding, it is usually so European-centered that the problem whether state concepts are the same on either side of the Atlantic simply does not arise with the author. This is a serious omission from a service on the whole conscientiously performed by him, a ferrying to Switzerland and beyond of the solid, though perhaps not always the latest, results of American historiographers rather than of the author's own researches, made in part in this country.

In this work there is often a felicitous phrase and formulation, such as the comparison between the Italian *podestà* and the American city-manager, which might have arisen in viewing our San Gimignano-like skyscrapers. Less fortunate is the author's inclination, a common weakness of Continental Europeans, to generalize on American Puritanism, of which "Progressivism" is said to be "an emanation" (p. 50). A juxtaposition, some hundred pages apart, of T. R. and Woodrow Wilson, serves to bring out how dangerous that is—for the author:

In one respect T. R. fully accords with the Puritanic genius of America. In him is lodged the militant preacher, the eternal moralist, the prophet of the middle-class ideal. And in this, as also in his combative desires and the praise of heroic virtues, he appears as a forerunner of the popular postwar leaders who lead the fight against decomposition, laxness, against pacifism—the profit system (p. 55).

If T. R. liked to emphasize the type [! does one make it a type?] of the Cowboy-President, Wilson preferred that of the Prophet-President. Both are expressions of "Progressivism"; the one is realistic-vitalistic, the other more in keeping with Puritanism (pp. 166-67).

He puts the motivations of American policies, including even so-called dollar diplomacy, on a fairly elevated level as far as motivations and aims are concerned, and he draws the lines that these policies have followed on a level of consistency from which people living in the United States themselves might not always be able to view them. Thus he establishes unbroken lines of "Progressivism" running from the first Roosevelt to the second. In a cursory contemporary history such as Professor Silberschmidt's the direc-

tion of the current of American history is too apt to be seen from the point it has reached at this moment or in 1940, when even the policies of a McKinley might appear "methodical"; it is far harder, in a narrow compass, to regain and represent the observation points of 1900, 1910, 1920, or even 1930.

Institute for Advanced Study.

ALFRED VAGTS.

Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties: Listing and Analysis of Socio-Economic Indices of 1104 Southern Counties. By CHARLES S. JOHNSON and Associates: LEWIS W. JONES, BUFORD H. JUNKER, ELI S. MARKS, and PRESTON VALIEN; Consultants: EDWIN R. EMBREE and W. LLOYD WARNER. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. x, 355. \$4.00.)

THIS work is at once an evidence and a result of a growing interest in the internal characteristics of the South's regional economy. It is a reference book and a tool for students of social phenomena that augments the principles and findings of Odum's *Southern Regions* and Vance's *Human Geography of the South*.

The "South" in this volume includes one third of all counties in the United States and comprises the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Though this grouping is not in keeping with recent patternings by regional sociologists, it does conform to the cultural patterning of dual education systems. "The close connection between the school and the social conditions surrounding it" is stated as the reason for giving such extensive study to these counties.

Social conditions are interpreted in terms of fifty-one socioeconomic items covering demographic, economic, educational, and other characteristics. Counties are typed according to the major crop type, the complexity of crops, and the extent of urbanization and industrialization. This type structure permits the clustering of counties by characteristics that may seem unrelated but which show a significant interrelationship upon closer examination. Thus, the 551 cotton counties show a relative predominance in Negroes, tenant farmers, small farms, mortgaged farms, low expenditures for Negro education, and lynchings. The sixty-four metropolitan counties, on the other hand, show a higher density of population, a more rapid growth, higher educational standards for all children, and lower illiteracy rates. An over-all analysis reveals that in only thirty-seven of the counties studied were the average expenditures for the education of Negro children equal to the average expenditures for white children.

The statistical materials permit interesting speculations and interpretations regarding the influence of economic forces upon the life of a people. The county type structure gives social scientists a new opportunity to follow

Professor Craven's advice and re-examine F. J. Turner's brilliant place-work-folk formula used in interpretation of the "frontier" South of a century ago.

The authors of this atlas believed that "if we could compile a comprehensive county index of the South—by crops, industries and degrees of rurality, we would have an excellent guide to conditions which vitally affected education and all other social relations".

A complete analysis of the statistical materials available in this volume should yield a formidable mass of data pertinent to Southern education. It is generally known that the South, with one fourth of the nation's population, must educate one half of the nation's farm children. But this volume gives added pertinence to such other factors as the role that dual (Negro and white) education plays in lowering the effective density of the population, the formidable task of education within the region, and the plight of rural county populations that have outstripped their resource structures—but find themselves inescapably bound to land they own, rent, or sharecrop.

Dr. Johnson and his associates have performed a useful, thankless task in a creditable manner.

Atlanta University.

IRA DE A. REID.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Canadian Relations, 1784-1860. Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING, Treaty Division, Department of State. Volume I, 1784-1820, *Documents 1-661*. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; sales agent, Columbia University Press, New York. 1940. Pp. xlvii, 947. \$5.00.)

STUDENTS of Canadian-American relations will be grateful to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for producing this hefty volume of nearly a thousand pages and to Mr. Manning, that veteran compiler of diplomatic correspondence, for preparing it. This is probably as complete a collection as any man could make of American diplomatic correspondence concerning relations with British North America—not just the old Canada—during the formative years from 1784 to 1820; and the editor promises three more volumes of similar size to cover the forty years that follow. According to the title, this first installment contains 661 documents, which are numbered consecutively, but there are nearly three hundred more tucked away in voluminous footnotes. The preface states that "most of the documents are, it is believed, here printed for the first time". However true this may be by a count of items, the reviewer is under the impression that he has already perused in published form the bulk of the material in this book. But this impression, which may be wrong, is of little consequence. Almost all the documents that have already appeared in print have not been easily

accessible, for they were scattered through old publications that are seldom found outside large or highly specialized libraries, and the faithfulness with which they were reproduced was often open to question. Now they are conveniently assembled together, and the text is as authentic as the editor could make it. He has meticulously copied the manuscript source whenever he could find it. Only when he failed to discover it, which was rarely, has he drawn on previous publications.

The editor's problem of selection has been far from easy. He realized, as he says, that users of this volume will be inclined to criticize him for omitting or for not omitting whole documents or portions of them, and he has wisely chosen to err on the side of inclusion rather than exclusion. To satisfy the omnivorous, he has generally followed the praiseworthy practice of explaining in footnotes the nature of the passages that he has omitted as not pertinent. The reviewer has noted only two passages that were omitted without explanation though they contained material explicitly relevant to British North America—on pages 270 and 282, at the beginning and at the end of a long communication from the Secretary of State in 1818. These passages, which may be found in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 375-76 and 378, deal with the effect of the recent British free port act upon American trade with the maritime provinces and with the condemnation of American fishing vessels by the vice-admiralty court in Halifax. This amputation of the head and the tail of John Quincy Adams's dispatch was apparently an oversight, but other causes explain the failure to include two classes of documents that are essential for a full understanding of the relations between the United States and British North America.

It is difficult to see why a compilation of this kind should begin with January, 1784. The foundations of the structure are missing—the documents that explain why the peace settlement of 1783 was drawn as it was. Most of the discussions in this volume are of minor importance compared with the negotiations conducted in Paris in 1782 and 1783. It was then and there that the basic conditions of the complicated problem of Canadian-American relations were laid down.

The exclusion of the other class of documents springs from the very nature of this publication. It is a collection of the diplomatic correspondence of the United States concerning Canada, and therefore it includes only such British documents as were communicated to the American government. The picture is presented as viewed from Washington. A corresponding publication culled only from the archives in the British capital would present it as viewed from London, and the result would be quite different. From either viewpoint the presentation is bound to be partial even though the editor be as scrupulously honest as is Mr. Manning. This volume would have been much more useful if it had been conceived as a collection of American and British diplomatic correspondence dealing with Canadian-

American relations, and it is to be hoped that the foundation which has done so much for a better understanding of international affairs may be persuaded to adopt this conception for the ensuing volumes.

Though the present title justifies the editor's exclusion of British documents that did not find their way into the American archives, it does not excuse his failure to dip into British sources to check the American sources and to recover what has been lost from them. Again and again he notes traces of pertinent items that have disappeared from the American files, and he reports them as "not found", though the reviewer read and transcribed them years ago. The editor might have done the same if he had merely stepped over to the Library of Congress and consulted the photostat copies of F.O.5 deposited there. Less serious is another fault, likewise the result of principle. He has purposely refrained from referring to other scholars' works "which discuss the subjects to which these documents, or any of them, relate", and this self-denying ordinance has led him to reprint, in a footnote extending over many pages, the correspondence of John Henry without mentioning E. A. Cruikshank's *The Political Adventures of John Henry*, which shows the liberties Henry took with the text. On the whole, Mr. Manning's work is remarkably free of editorial slips, but the following may be mentioned. The reference in note 3, page 167, should be to document 451, not 445 or 446. There should be a note on page 178 correcting "19th", which makes no sense, to "17th". Presidential messages to Congress on pages 183 and 200 appear as transcribed from *A.S.P., F.R.* instead of the *Annals of Congress*. No mention is made of a suspicious puzzle on page 219. It is a verbatim repetition, with two deletions, the second of which was an obvious mistake in copying, of what is to be found on pages 214-15.

One of the finest things in this book is a sentence by John Jay which should be the guide of every student of diplomatic history. "Men are prone to suspect, sometimes too much and sometimes too little: and to avoid both extremes, is more proper than it is easy."

University of Minnesota.

A. L. BURT.

The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778: A Collection of Documents Illustrative of the History of the Eastern Frontier of New Mexico.

By ALFRED BARNABY THOMAS, University of Alabama. [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 232. \$3.50.)

Tecodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783, from the Original Document in the Archives of the Indies, Seville. Translated and edited by ALFRED BARNABY THOMAS. [American Exploration and Travel.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1941. Pp. xiii, 273. \$3.00.)

WITH these two volumes Professor Thomas in effect doubles his stature

as historian of the eighteenth century frontier of Spanish New Mexico. In *Forgotten Frontiers* (1932) he dealt with the work of Juan Bautista de Anza on this border in the decade 1777 to 1787, and in *After Coronado* (1935) he followed the Spaniards venturing onto the Plains in the period 1696 to 1727. The present volumes fit into the chronological interstice; they are cut from the same kind of cloth and according to the same pattern. They consist principally of translated and annotated documents drawn from the Spanish and Mexican archives, interpreted in each instance by a historical introduction.

The Plains Indians and New Mexico presents several groups of documents which illustrate Spanish policy toward the wild Indians on this frontier, as implemented by Governors Tomás Vélez Cachupín and Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta. It opens at a time when the French were impinging upon the colony, not only through military equipment furnished to the Comanches but also through occasional traders who penetrated all the way to New Mexico. Some of the most interesting documents pertain to these intruders and the goods they brought. Against the Indians, Vélez was able to safeguard the settlements by a combination of alert preparedness, swift retaliation for a Comanche attack on Galisteo, and fair dealings with any Indians who could be persuaded to treat with him. Mendinueta, on the contrary, put his trust in the sword and so inflamed the Comanches that his entire governorship was marked by repeated attacks on the exposed settlements. He did propose a consolidation of scattered settlers into defendable towns, which would have been a following of the defensive technique of the Pueblo Indians, but this plan was set aside in favor of working toward an alliance with the Comanches. In the period covered in this volume neither method was put into effect, and New Mexico remained a fine example of official neglect.

The volume on Teodoro de Croix is built around that officer's report of October 30, 1781, on the state of the frontier provinces assigned to his command. The introduction, primarily concerned with the setting for this report, deals only incidentally with other phases of Croix's career. The report is not particularly illuminating on California, which Croix had not visited, but for the other provinces from Sonora to Coahuila and Texas it is a circumstantial description, with emphasis, of course, upon the problems of defense. By 1781, through the acquisition of California and Louisiana and the Spanish military successes on the lower Mississippi and the Gulf Coast, these *provincias internas* had become internal in Spain's empire as well as in the North American continent. For the time being, therefore, the problem of defense related almost exclusively to the Indian hostiles, of whom the Apaches and the Comanches were the most troublesome. Croix assessed the problem correctly and outlined a program that might have worked. These Indians, however, were sturdy antagonists; the land was on their side; civil

and military subordinates gave Croix less co-operation than he deserved; entrenched wealth, represented by stock raisers who had been selling horses to the presidios, objected to certain of his reforms; and administrators of the empire, including the viceroy at Mexico City, were not ready to go all the way with him in revitalizing the northern defenses. His actual achievements, therefore, were less glorious than his blueprint, and though Charles III rewarded him with appointment as viceroy of Peru, historians have given him only stinted praise.

Professor Thomas goes far in rescuing Croix from these detractors. He credits him with modesty, zeal, stubborn honesty, and better visualization of the whole problem of Indian-Spanish conflict than anyone else achieved. As Croix is praised, Viceroy Bucareli is derided as a fumbling bureaucrat, an armchair administrator, and a jealous obstructionist. There is truth in these allegations, yet California historians, viewing other parts of Bucareli's work, will continue to call him a great benefactor of their province. They will also continue to lay the Yuma Massacre largely at Croix's door. This excellent book, however, will give all students of Spain's northern borderlands a better understanding of the problems existing there toward the close of the colonial period and a better opinion of Croix's efforts to solve these problems.

University of California at Los Angeles. JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY.

The Franciscan Missions of California. By JOHN A. BERGER. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1941. Pp. xiv, 392. \$3.50.)

THIS popular treatment of Mr. Berger may be regarded as having achieved its immediate purpose of recalling high lights in the glories of California's past. The author considered very few of the many writings on the missions to have provided new material or a new approach, and since recent restorations have changed the physical appearances of some of the missions he has deemed this renovation "sufficient reason for a new examination of the whole subject" (p. viii). For the historical setting of some one hundred pages he has relied upon the writings of H. H. Bancroft, C. A. Engelhardt, H. E. Bolton, C. E. Chapman, and G. W. James, quoting authorities on occasion although eschewing footnotes and bibliography. In the remaining three fourths of the book he takes his readers along the Camino Real, "through the cherished tourist attractions bequeathed to the proud Golden State by the romantic Spanish era" (p. 102), mission by mission from San Diego to Sonoma, "the tail of the mission kite", where "the mission sun went down" (p. 379).

Six chapters are devoted to burnishing "the golden threads of California's romantic past" (p. 4). Brief inquiry is made into "the source of the name of the present magic State of redwood groves and poppy fields" (p. 6), into the Pious Fund, and into the discovery, before the author pursues the often told background narrative to the great moment when Father Serra

and José de Gálvez “laid the fateful plans for one of the most important projects in the history of human endeavor” (p. 27). Each of the early heroes, religious and lay, receives unstinted praise as the chain of missions is established. The most unheroic of American Indian tribes, the materials with which the Franciscans had to labor, are described in a chapter based on A. L. Kroeber. Despite the disreputable condition of these pre-Native Son inhabitants and their passion for laziness, “under the enthusiasm of vehement Serra, they set to work with a frenzy” (p. 78) and thus were molded into the frame of sturdy frontier life. The destruction of the mission system, the secularization, is told in a few lines and a chapter heading. In his stops at the ancient landmarks Mr. Berger reveals a keen appreciation of story value. With unflagging enthusiasm he brings out in a highly colorful style many of the characters and much of the local lore dear to the hearts of Californians, while not forgetting to describe the present state of preservation of each of the missions and those who have aided in bringing it about. There are ample illustrations, and the book, full of human appeal, may be recommended for its sustained interest and its imagery. Some of the author’s interpretations, generalizations, and personal observations may meet with criticism, but in view of the scope and purpose which he had in mind a detailed analysis here appears unnecessary.

Loyola University, Chicago.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

International Bibliography of Historical Sciences. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Oxford. *Thirteenth Year, 1938*. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1941, pp. xxix, 424, \$9.90.) The 1938 volume is, as usual, considerably behindhand in its appearance. The printing was completed on March 29, 1941, after numerous delays due primarily to the current international confusion. The editors frankly admit certain unavoidable difficulties but express the firm hope that the 1941 volume will be better. The scope is really international as usual. Twenty-three countries are included in the list of collaborators, and 5,584 entries are listed. M. P. Caron, director of the Archives of France at Paris, with the assistance of M. Marc Jaryc saw the 1938 volume through the press. It is in French, the language of the editors. The full descriptive notes on previous volumes prepared by the late Dr. Allison in his reviews in this journal make detailed comparison with them almost superfluous. For those who have not read the previous reviews it may be said that the *Bibliography* is still selective. The editors state that the criterion of choice is the intrinsic importance of the individual articles included. Naturally this criterion is somewhat elastic in interpretation. Inclusions are liberal in fields where periodicals, bibliography, and other international sources of information are scarce or not easily available, e.g., agrarian history. Cross references at the beginning of each of the specific sections give fairly adequate information as to the limitations of inclusions in that particular section. The editors tactfully allude to several countries, previously heavy contributors, as "Les pays qui, tout en faisant partie du Comité international des Sciences historiques, ne collaborent pas à ses publications". With all its admitted lacks, the *Bibliography* still remains indispensable to any serious student or research worker in its field, but it should be supplemented by the *World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies*. FRANK K. WALTER.

Methods of Historical Synthesis. By J. J. GAPANOVICH. (Hong Kong, Commercial Press, 1940, pp. vii, 190.) A critic is partially disarmed before he opens this little book. It was published in China in 1940. Its paper cover and the flimsy stock on which it is printed are evidences of handicaps in production. The author, a Russian, struggles with the English idiom and without editorial aid comes off second best. Nevertheless, a Russian writing in English in China in 1940 produced and printed a brochure on historical methods in research, organization, and exposition. The author knows the professional literature, chiefly French and German, from Droysen and Bernheim to Beard and Nevins and the latest theorists about *Historismus*. In the chapter on modern biography he takes Strachey, Maurois, and Ludwig for his laboratory specimens. In general, however, he seems to be talking sense but not English, at least not the latter continuously enough so but what an idea goes underground just as you reach for it and you can't wait for it to come out again, if it ever does. With a skilled collaborator this might have been made the little up-to-date book on methodology that we need. But no one can be sure. The credit mark is for the effort.

The Quest for Law. By WILLIAM SEAGLE. (New York, Knopf, 1941, pp. xv, 439, xvii, \$5.00.)

The Living Past. By CYRUS H. GORDON. (New York, John Day, 1941, pp. 232, \$2.50.) Cyrus Gordon's researches in the Near East entitle him to write with authority on many phases of its cultural history, but only a rare literary skill has enabled him to weave them together in one short, delightful book. He takes us exploring in Edom and Moab, where we discover that Solomon was a copper king. At Tepe Gawra and other ancient town-heaps he gives us our first lessons in field archaeology. From cuneiform tablets found on the Syrian coast we learn that a certain Daniel, named as a paragon of justice by Shakespeare's Shylock, was a mythical Canaanite hero who gave judgment for widows and orphans. Other documents reveal the scandalous details of social life among the Hurrians of Nuzu, including the use of adoption as a legal subterfuge for the transfer of land. Amusing little encounters with Arab workmen and watchmen, the designs on cylinder seals, military letters from Nebuchadnezzar's time, and late Aramaic magic contribute to the continuity as well as to the variety of *The Living Past*. This book will be read with so much pleasure that its imperfections will generally be overlooked. The "wavy-ledge" handles on Egyptian pottery, which Gordon cites as the basis of sequence-dating, are Predynastic, not Early Bronze Age. On page 109 he misses the point of the Moslem "triple divorce". This divorce is *irrevocable* until the woman has been married and divorced by another man. Finally, in his chapter on incantations, Gordon says that savages prefer science to magic, and that "once they learn the principles of irrigation, they stop depending on rituals for rain". Here he goes far astray. Any anthropologist knows that magic and science perform separate functions and may flourish together. But a man of Gordon's erudition is seldom an anthropologist.

WALTER CLINE.

Foreign Imitations of the English Noble. By HERBERT E. IVES. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 93.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1941, pp. 36, plates v, \$1.50.) This study is an excellent summary of the considerable literature on its subject. It gives briefly the history of the English noble and ryal and their foreign imitations (not counterfeits) from Edward III (1351) to James I (1619). The interested layman is served, and the specialist is supplied with a bibliography. The Merrymount Press does a handsome job of printing.

Ukraine: A Series of Maps and Explanations indicating the Historic and Contemporary Geographical Position of the Ukrainian People. By G. W. SIMPSON, Professor of History, University of Saskatchewan. (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. 48, 25 cents.)

Early Military Books in the University of Michigan Libraries. By THOMAS M. SPAULDING and LOUIS C. KARPINSKI. [University of Michigan General Library Publications.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1941, pp. 45, plates xxxvii, \$2.00.)

The Story of the Mennonites. By C. HENRY SMITH, Professor of History, Bluffton College. (Berne, Mennonite Book Concern, 1941, pp. 823, \$2.50.) This volume deals with Mennonite history from the days of the Anabaptists to 1939. About three hundred pages are devoted to America, the rest to Europe. Accepting the Bible as their sole authority, the Apostolic Church as their model, and the Sermon on the Mount, interpreted to include nonresistance, as a code of conduct, the Mennonites have struggled for centuries to maintain their religious liberty in spite of frequent clashes with the civil authorities. Due to linguistic, national, and religious variations, including the desertion of traditional nonresistance by some European Mennonites in 1914, the denomination has split into numerous

divisions. Dr. Smith has described the economic and social life of Mennonite agricultural communities, their attitude toward education, and other details of cultural history, as well as the strictly religious phases of the story. In the 1870's the final trek from Russia to North America began, only to be followed after the first World War by new migrations from Canada and the United States to Mexico, Brazil, and Paraguay. This volume is a revision and enlargement of the author's *Mennonites of America* (1909) and *The Mennonites—A Brief History* (1920). The chapters that are distinctly new deal with the more recent migrations to this continent and with the attitude and experiences of the Mennonites as conscientious objectors in the first World War. The earlier volumes were better illustrated and contained helpful bibliographies. This has neither footnotes nor bibliography.

CARL WITTKÉ.

Manual of Spanish Constitutions, 1808-1931: Translation and Introductions. By ARNOLD R. VERDUIN, State Normal School, New Paltz, New York. Foreword by Professor Arthur S. Aiton, University of Michigan. (Ypsilanti, University Lithoprinters, 1941, pp. 99, apply.) As its title indicates, this manual is a translation of Spain's ten constitutions from the intervention of Napoleon to the departure of Alfonso XIII. The translations are made from the standard published versions, and each is prefaced by a few paragraphs explaining the circumstances under which the document was formulated. The volume will be of use not only to those concerned with Spain but also to students of the political affairs of Spanish America, which throughout this period was feeling the continuing influence of the mother country.

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY.

Economic History of Europe. By SHEPARD BANCROFT CLOUGH and CHARLES WOOLSEY COLE. (Boston, Heath, 1941, pp. xx, 841, \$4.00.) The central theme of this textbook is the rise and development of capitalism. The period covered is 600 A.D. to the present. After a brief but familiar treatment of the Middle Ages Professor Cole devotes his remaining space to the expansion of capitalism between 1500 and 1776. Professor Clough then takes the larger portion of the book to describe the evolution of capitalism in modern times. The authors emphasize three things: the rise of the capitalistic spirit, the accumulation of capital, and the development of capitalistic techniques. They think of capitalism as something which arose at the end of the Middle Ages and which has become full-blown in the twentieth century. More space is given to the years since 1914 than to the nine centuries preceding 1500. A useful feature is the definition of such terms as drafts, bills of exchange, and arbitrage. The illustrations seem adequate, and there is an index. Short lists of additional readings are appended at the end of each chapter. Technological changes receive extended treatment but tend to become wearisome lists of inventions. The treatment of agriculture is inadequate. The style should appeal to the undergraduate.

RODNEY C. LOEHR.

European Colonial Expansion since 1871. By MARY EVELYN TOWNSEND, Professor of History, Teachers College, Columbia University, with the collaboration of CYRUS HENDERSON PEAKE, Assistant Professor of Chinese, Columbia University. Edited by WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM. (Chicago, Lippincott, 1941, pp. viii, 629, \$4.00.) This book, designed for a college text, presents a detailed account of European colonial expansion since 1871 in all parts of the world. An excellent feature is that it deals not only with Africa (about a third of the entire contents) but also gives due space to important fields which have been undeservedly slighted in other general treatments: the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East. The part on the Far East has been contributed by Mr. Peake. Though

the book is designed for a student audience, it makes a conscientious effort to incorporate the fruits of recent advanced research and should prove a useful supplement to Parker Moon's study published in 1926. The section dealing with German expansion, Miss Townsend's own field, is particularly good considering the enforced space limitations. It is interesting that Miss Townsend has chosen not to press her former thesis that Bismarck was a colonial enthusiast. The final chapter takes up the question of whether colonies pay, in a discussion which shows that the author is aware of the complexity of the issue and is well acquainted with the recent flood of anti-imperialist literature. Due weight is given to the evidence of the waning of imperialism in the last few years and to the many indications of the ineffectiveness of a traditional colonial system in the modern world. It is a pity that requirements of space prevented a fuller account of financial and commercial questions. As a textbook this fills a real need, though the exhaustive wealth of the details and their somewhat mechanical arrangement may hamper its usefulness for teaching purposes.

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE.

Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction: Studies in Modern Social Structure.

By KARL MANNHEIM, the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London), Formerly Professor of Sociology in the University of Frankfurt/Main. With a Bibliographical Guide to the Study of Modern Society. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1940, pp. xxii, 469, \$3.50.) In the words of the author himself, this book represents "a series of essays which were written at different times around the same theme; an attempt to diagnose the changes in the social structure from the symptoms of the contemporary critical period. . . . It had from the outset no uniform plan." Therefore "a certain amount of repetition is inevitable; here and there contradictory statements have not been reconciled" (p. 32). All this means that the work, in contradistinction to Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia*, is not a systematic study of a certain clear-cut topic but appears to be a rambling around different and loosely connected topics of our age of transition. The main essays deal with the crisis of liberalism and democracy, with rational and irrational elements in contemporary society, with social causes of the contemporary crisis in culture, with dictatorship and war, with planning generally and planning for freedom specifically, with the problems of social control and so on, to mention but the main topics. The essays are written with some insight and ability. Here and there one finds a fresh thought and a stimulating idea. None of the studies, however, either goes deeply into the problem, or gives any new factual material or a thorough analysis. One of the reasons for that is pointed out by the author himself in the above quotations; another reason is the existence of a contradiction in the mind of the author himself in the form of a survival of Marxian conceptions squatting side by side with theories contradictory to Marxian sociology and philosophy. In many places this self-contradiction of Mannheim comes out in rather a striking manner. The book has a fairly good, though incomplete and one-sided, bibliography covering a wide range of social problems.

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN.

Constitutional Government and Democracy: Theory and Practice in Europe and America. By CARL J. FRIEDRICH, Professor of Government, Harvard University. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1941, pp. xix, 695, \$4.00.) This is a revised edition of *Constitutional Government and Politics*, which was published in 1937 (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 74).

Attempts to define and limit "Aggressive" Armament in Diplomacy and Strategy.

By MARION WILLIAM BOGGS, Associate Professor of Political Science, Macalester

College. [The University of Missouri Studies.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1941, pp. 113, \$1.25.)

World Economic Survey. Ninth Year, 1939/41. [Economic Intelligence Service.] (Geneva, League of Nations, American agent, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 275, \$2.50.) "This *Survey* covers the period of almost two years, from the autumn of 1939 to the summer of 1941. It is concerned with a world at war. Although all countries have not been and are not immediately involved, the central thread and the expanding web of the facts recorded are the economics of warfare. No country is unaffected by this conflagration; but in all countries economic activity continues. It continues in a changed form, and in most areas for purposes other than immediate social welfare. The essence of war economy is the sacrifice of that immediate welfare to other needs or ambitions. In the earlier chapters of this volume, the means by which that change has been effected are described; in the later chapters, the effect[s] of these changes on various forms of economic activity in the war areas and elsewhere are considered."

Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences. I, An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America". By HERBERT BLUMER. With Statements by WILLIAM I. THOMAS and FLORIAN ZNANIECKI, a Panel Discussion, and Summary and Analysis by READ BAIN. II, *An Appraisal of Frederick C. Mills' "The Behavior of Prices"*. By RAYMOND T. BYE. With a Rejoinder by FREDERICK C. MILLS, a Panel Discussion, and a Commentary by READ BAIN. [Bulletins 44 and 45.] (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1939, 1940, pp. xvii, 210, xix, 335, \$1.00 each.) These two volumes of appraisal of methods in sociology and statistics are much more successful in focusing on a discussion of methodology than the volume devoted to an appraisal of Webb's *The Great Plains* (see above, p. 627). This approximate success is due to the fact that the authors of the volumes appraised, especially Thomas and Znaniecki, had revealed either explicitly or implicitly the canons of research they held valid. The result is a discussion that sticks to its subject and is carried on in a way to generate light and not heat.

The Second Yearbook of Research and Statistical Methodology Books and Reviews. Edited by OSCAR KRISEN BUROS. (Highland Park, Gryphon Press, 1941, pp. xx, 383, \$5.00.)

A Manual of Research and Thesis-Writing for Graduate Students. (Washington, Graduate School, Howard University, 1941, pp. 80, \$1.00.)

Abstracts in History, IV. Edited for Department of History by W. ROSS LIVINGSTON. [University of Iowa Studies, Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1941, pp. 158, \$1.00.)

The University of Chicago Press Catalogue of Books and Journals, 1891-1941. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. xxxi, 432, \$1.00.)

William Warner Bishop: A Tribute, 1941. Edited by HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG and ANDREW KEOGH. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. vi, 204, \$3.00.) This collection of miscellaneous essays is a deserved tribute to a scholar who was also an educational statesman in his interpretation of his own role as librarian. Of interest to historians are the essays by Andrew Keogh on "The Yale Library in 1742", by Keyes DeWitt Metcalf on "Some Trends in Research Libraries", and by Cardinal Tisserant on "The Preparation of a Main Index for the Vatican Library Manuscripts".

A Guide to the Reference Collections of the New York Public Library. Compiled by KARL BROWN. (New York, New York Public Library, 1941, pp. 430, \$6.00, paper \$4.00.)

The Pierpont Morgan Library, Review of the Activities and Acquisitions of the Library from 1936 through 1940: A Summary of the Annual Reports of the Director to the Board of Trustees. (New York, the Library, 1941, pp. xiii, 127.)

This report of the director, Miss Belle da Costa Greene, reflects most strikingly how the activities of the Pierpont Morgan Library are being extended each year without lowering the high standards and ideals to which the library has always adhered. This report appears in a handsomely designed and beautifully printed volume prepared under the supervision of Mr. Richard Nett at the Platin Press. The edition is limited to 1,000 copies and would be a prized possession alone for the exquisite reproductions of pages from manuscripts, drawings, and books recently acquired by the library. There are two beautiful colored plates, works of art in themselves. One is a page from MS. 805-807, the Lancelot du Lac of the fourteenth century, called by distinguished scholars "beyond compare . . . the finest Lancelot". Another plate reproduces a signed miniature by Niccolò di Giacomo da Bologna. This represents the Crucifixion and is a characteristic example of his work, "with solidly painted, monumental figures set against a decoratively patterned background". There are many other interesting plates given in black and white—two of especial interest are chosen from the pages of a fifteenth century copy of Froissart's *Chronicles*. All these plates indicate only in part the rich treasures in a library of which all Americans may well be proud. Researchers and scholars in general will find especially helpful the list of printed books added during the five years covered by the report. Here are many incunabula and first editions of more modern works.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

Bibliography of Jewish Social Studies, 1938-39. By SALO WITTMAYER BARON, Professor of Jewish History, Literature, and Institutions on the Miller Foundation, Columbia University. Reprinted with Additions and Index from *Jewish Social Studies*, Volume II, Numbers 3 and 4. (New York, Conference on Jewish Relations, 1941, pp. iv, 291, \$3.00.) The reader of this bibliography is somewhat confused when he first glances at it. The title indicates a bibliography of Jewish social studies, but it actually comprises almost every aspect of Jewish life, past and present, and includes publications concerning language, archaeology, literature, history, and other matters far from having direct bearing on social aspects. If the reader bears this in mind, he realizes that its complexity makes it all the more useful and that it furnishes a mine of information for all those interested in Jewish studies. The articles listed—and there are over 4,200 of them—are by no means publications exclusively by Jews. Philo-Semites, anti-Semites, Jews, and non-Jews are represented in the bibliography, and items of high scholarly value are mingled with some of poor journalistic quality. The compiler has tried to list all literature available in many languages, also in general periodicals which in many cases are likely to escape the specialist's notice. The material is arranged under various headings, such as biography, religion, law, philosophy, archaeology, art, Zionism, education, population, Palestine, history, Jews in the world, etc. There are quite a number of shortcomings and omissions; these are, however, unavoidable in bibliographies and especially in the present one. The bibliography's value is enhanced by an extensive index. The time limit of 1938-39, in the title, is not adhered to very rigidly. In addition to its practical usefulness this bibliography may serve as a basis for regular annual or biannual surveys in the field of Jewish studies throughout the world, a survey which the

compiler is contemplating but which will probably be delayed due to the war.

WALTER J. FISCHER.

Modern War—Its Economic and Social Aspects: A Bibliography. By ALBERT T. LAUTERBACH, Assistant Professor of Economics in the University of Denver, with the collaboration of ROBERT A. KANN and DEBORAH A. HUBBARD, Bibliographical and Research Assistants at the Institute for Advanced Study. (Princeton, Institute for Advanced Study, issued January, 1942, pp. [51], furnished in limited numbers upon request, mimeographed.) "No claim is made for this bibliography other than that it is a tentative list of books and articles dealing with the economic and social aspects of modern war."

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ANCIENT HISTORY¹

T. R. S. Broughton

The Penguin Herodotus. Edited by A. J. EVANS. (New York, Penguin Books, 1941, pp. 155, 25 cents.)

The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints, from Seleucus I to Antiochus III. By EDWARD T. NEWELL. [Numismatic Studies, No. 4.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1941, pp. 450, plates LXXXV, \$10.00.) The recent death of Edward T. Newell came as a serious loss to those who were fortunate enough to enjoy his scholarly friendship. His place as a numismatist will not be filled for a long time to come. But by great good fortune, death did not cut off the publication of his two most mature studies. The first, *The Eastern Seleucid Mints*, appeared three years ago. The second, under review, publishes the coins of the western part of the empire issued between 312 and 187 B.C. Over 1,700 types are listed by mint and by ruler, and detailed reasons for the attributions are given in each case. They represent the royal coinage of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia, Seleucis and Pieria, Coele-Syria and Asia Minor. A final résumé, based on both the eastern and western issues, gives, reign by reign, the history of Seleucid coinage and reveals the striking interdependence of political history and numismatics. A joint article, "A Seleucid Mint at Dura-Europus", in collaboration with Alfred R. Bellinger, closes the book. Throughout the study Newell faced almost insuperable difficulties. He was a pioneer (although with characteristic modesty he makes it appear otherwise) in the work on the Syrian and Mesopotamian mints. With this magnificent volume and its companion as a guide, the path of the future numismatist is, as it must have been Newell's desire it should be, less arduous than before.

BLUMA L. TRELL.

Hunting Scenes on Roman Glass in the Rhineland. By MICHAEL GINSBURG. [University of Nebraska Studies, Studies in the Humanities, No. 1.] (Lincoln, University of Nebraska, 1941, pp. 31, 75 cents.) This interesting study, based on recent archaeological finds, well illustrates how source materials of this sort add pertinently and richly to our understanding of early cultures.

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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 JOHN A. WILSON. Archaeology as a Tool in Humanistic and Social Studies. *Jour. Near Eastern Stud.*, Jan.
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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Gray C. Boyce

Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books. Edited by N. R. KER, Lecturer in Palaeography in the University of Oxford. [Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, No. 3.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1941, pp. xxiii, 169, 7s. 6d.) A statistical interpretation of the contents, or the probable contents, of medieval libraries does not always lend satisfactory results for the historian anxious to calculate the literacy of a special group or of a single

individual. Yet, properly used, bibliographical statistics may be of untold assistance in solving historical problems. This compact volume lends itself admirably to such use and will without doubt be of inestimable value to researchers in many fields. The editor has aimed to be as exact and as all-inclusive as possible, but he realizes that completeness in such an undertaking can be at best only an approximation and an ideal. The book is not intended to be, indeed, it cannot be used alone, for it can be employed only along with printed and manuscript catalogues, to which it aims to serve as an introduction and a guide. About five hundred libraries of cathedral and collegiate churches, universities, colleges, and other corporate bodies in England, Scotland, and Wales are represented here, and in all some 4,200 library books and service books are listed. "By the fallacious test of surviving books about thirteen libraries appear vastly more important than all the others", but those competent to use this guide are not those first impressed and convinced solely by numbers. The chief difficulty the editor had to solve in this case was where to draw the line between what might properly be termed library books and written materials that would fall into another classification. The editor explains in his introduction some of the difficulties such a decision entailed. There are two helpful indexes.

Medieval Latin Studies: Their Nature and Possibilities. By L. R. LIND. [University of Kansas Publications, Humanistic Studies, No. 26.] (Lawrence, University of Kansas, 1941, pp. 48, 50 cents.) This pamphlet is an extremely lucid, informing discussion of the many problems implicit in the challenge offered by the great corpus of medieval Latin materials. The work is indispensable for the historian, who will discover it to be far more useful for his purposes than writings of non-historians often are. It is to be hoped that Professor Lind has plans to follow out himself some of the many suggestions he offers for future research. Certainly this excellent survey of present conditions and future hopes shows how admirably fitted by training and temperament he is to further the cause he so ardently advocates.

Der arme Heinrich: A Poem. By HARTMANN VON OUWE. The Critical Text of ERICH GIERACH with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by J. KNIGHT BOSTOCK. [German Mediaeval Series, General Editor, Professor H. G. Fiedler, Section A, Volume I.] (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1941, pp. 114, 6s.) This new edition of a poem so valuable for the historian of the Middle Ages has been made for students who have a good knowledge of modern German but who are still beginners in Middle High German. Historians especially will welcome the many aids the editor furnishes the reader and will find the original text and the introduction convenient to use. They will undoubtedly wish to compare these with the text and critical commentary provided by Clair Hayden Bell in his fine translation of this poem into English in his *Peasant Life in Old German Epics* (Records of Civilization, New York, 1931). Professor Bostock does not refer to Bell's work, which should have been listed somewhere in the new edition. One has only admiration for English scholars and publishers who give us works of this sort in these perilous times. How unfortunate it is that their fine work must appear on paper of such poor quality as British presses are now forced to use.

Pskovskie letopisi [Pskov chronicles]. Volume I. Edited by A. NASONOV. (Moscow, Izdat. Akademii nauk SSSR, 1941, pp. lxiii, 147, 19 r.) The present volume contains an edition of the text of the First Pskov Chronicle, based on the hitherto unpublished Tikhanov codex and on the Pogodin manuscript, as well as three supplements taken from other manuscripts. The text is preceded by a descriptive

list of the extant copies of the three Pskov chronicles and by an essay attempting to establish the filiation of the manuscripts, both studies from the editor's pen. The work, which is planned for two volumes, is issued under the auspices of the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences.

AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY.

Meister Eckhart: A Modern Translation. By RAYMOND BERNARD BLAKNEY. (New York, Harper, 1941, pp. 361, \$3.00.)

Oton de Grandson: Sa vie et ses poésies. By ARTHUR PIAGET. [Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande, Troisième série, Tome I.] (Lausanne, Librairie Payot, 1941, pp. 495, 12 fr.) This volume is of primary interest to the student of literature, but it will be of inestimable help to anyone studying fourteenth century civilization. The editor has provided a lengthy and learned introduction, where he examines the many moot points that arise before those wishing to follow and understand correctly Grandson's spectacular career. At times Grandson has been seen as the most chivalric of knights, the most fervent of poets, the most passionate lover, and, too, damned as the basest of men. His name was especially distinguished in the Vaud, Savoy, and near-by Burgundy, but he was also widely known in England, France, and Spain. He is found in the pages of both Chaucer and Froissart. In truth his verse cannot be called highly distinguished, and one must keep in mind the different standards of the late Middle Ages to gain any true appreciation of the spell Grandson's verse might cast over those who first listened to its monotonous rhythms, dull use of rhyme, faulty syntax, and meager vocabulary. Yet the author did not pretend to be the scholar but was by contrast the great and active fighter, a real champion who had fought in both the armies of France and of England, and who could also sing with full voice in praise of love. *Grand amoureux, grand capitaine* were ideals his contemporaries could recognize, and they alone are enough to explain his success in the fourteenth century world.

Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls MS. 182. Edited by M. DOMINICA LEGGE, Sometime Mary Somerville Research Fellow of Somerville College, Assistant Lecturer in French Literature and Language, Royal Holloway College. [Anglo-Norman Texts, III.] (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1941, pp. xxiii, 495, £3 3s.) This is an important miscellany that has been consulted but in no way exhausted by various researchers. One document is from 1421, another from the early years of the minority of Henry VI, but most date from 1390 to 1412. Save for a few letters in Latin the documents are in French. Only about a dozen of the 450 odd documents have been previously published. Among the subjects of the letters are Richard II's campaigns in Ireland, the Holand Rising, the Schism, and the campaigns against Glendower.

Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern. Volume XXXV, No. 2. (Berne, Gustav Grunau, 1940, pp. xxxix, 177-491.) Excepting the annual report of the society, this volume contains only the lengthy study, *Studien zur Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Bern am Ende des Mittelalters*, by Hans von Greyerz. The work is thoroughly documented and gives several new sources for the years 1478-1523. The problem facing the author was a difficult one, and he has, on the whole, made a real contribution to our knowledge of an important town in a critical period of history. The book is not easy reading, and many who are attracted to it by its title would be more than willing to sacrifice much of the detailed fact for a more synthetic treatment. The setting is described by analyzing

the respective positions and developments of the burghers and the local lords, both parties in the late fifteenth century to the *Twingherrenstreit*, a particular example of the general social strife so prevalent in the Europe of that age. Here the greatest personality to emerge was the noble and often pious Ludwig von Diesbach. Yet here, as in other cases, the author tends to narrate the exploits of a hero without integrating these with the book as a whole. There are an excellent analysis of the work of the clergy in the town and, among other topics, an interesting though necessarily incomplete study of the local schools and official scribes.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

Sir Walter Ralegh. By ERIC ECCLESTONE. (New York, Penguin Books, 1941, pp. 122, 25 cents.)

Gloucestershire: A Study in Local Government, 1590-1640. By WILLIAM BRADFORD WILLCOX, Instructor in History in Williams College. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940, pp. xvi, 348, \$3.00.) The merits of this work are considerable. It contains much useful matter, presented in a very readable style and enlivened by happily chosen anecdotes. It is based upon a wide variety of sources, including some usually neglected in a local study. The proceedings of the Star Chamber, for example, are adroitly employed to reveal how its authority was utilized both to control and support county officialdom of all degrees, from the highest to the lowest. The chapters describing the central organs of government are thoughtfully planned, outline the civil and military organization of the county, and show the impact of the national government upon local taxation, economic regulation, town life, and poor relief. Some of the demerits of the book are inherent in the choice of a county as a unit for study, but the neglect to indicate which of the features of Gloucestershire local government are similar to, or different from, those of neighboring counties does not call for especial comment here. More relevant is the criticism that, though Mr. Willcox by his skillful

descriptions makes the organs of local government seem living, he fails to record their growth during a half century. There are various statements that either actually or implicitly contradict each other. The social position of the sheriff is said to be both higher than that of the average justice of the peace and equal to it. The separate and unrelated treatment of two problems vitally connected—poor relief and economic depression—suggests further lack of integration. There are also several rather hasty statements or hypotheses unwarranted by the scanty data cited.

GODFREY DAVIES.

The Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham: Being a Continuation by Several Hands of Mr. Archdeacon Echard's History of England; from the Time of the Establishment of King William and Queen Mary upon the Throne in the Year 1688, until the Death of Her Majesty Some Five Years Later; to which are added Some Remarks upon the Previous and Succeeding Reigns by the Rt. Hon. Daniel, Earl of Nottingham. Methodiz'd, connected, and edited from Hitherto Unpublished Manuscripts by WILLIAM A. AIKEN. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. x, 182, \$3.00.) In this volume Dr. Aiken has printed fourteen manuscripts dealing with Daniel Finch, second earl of Nottingham; but instead of editing them in orthodox fashion he has woven them into a narrative, after a fashion much in vogue with eighteenth century writers. This explains the extraordinary title. The introduction, textual notes, and appendix indicate exactly how the documents were used; and it is a tribute to Dr. Aiken's ingenuity that he was able to carry through his historical ghostwriting with almost no violation of the exacting rules that bind the editor of historical texts. Of the manuscripts seven were written by Nottingham, and the longest and most important are two collections of notes set down by him late in life in order to provide a sympathetic historian with firsthand data on events in which Nottingham had played a prominent part. Less than twenty pages long in the original, the notes deal chiefly with naval affairs twenty-five years earlier, when Nottingham was secretary of state (1689-93). Those interested in the campaigns of Beachy Head and La Hogue and in the famous quarrel that resulted between Nottingham and Admiral Russell will find much new material here, including, in addition to the notes, Nottingham's draft of a speech in his own defense, a speech in his defense by Sir Richard Temple (both 1693), and a manuscript, "Case of Russell", which Nottingham drew up in 1701 for use against his opponent. On matters of more general interest Nottingham's notes are disappointingly brief. Far more useful are the editor's own comments, and we hope that they will soon be followed into print by the definitive biography of Nottingham on which Dr. Aiken is at work.

ROBERT WALCOTT, JR.

Miscellany of the Scottish History Society. Volume VII, *The Diary of Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, The Exiled Stewarts in Italy, The Locharkraig Treasure.* [Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, Volume XXXV.] (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable, 1941, pp. vii, 183.) This volume published by the Scottish History Society justifies its classification in the miscellany series. Besides a brief account of the annual meeting in December, 1939, and a list of members it reproduces three disparate but well-edited selections from sources. The first is the fragmentary diary of Sir William Drummond from 1657 to 1659. Sir William "was a person of no particular distinction of character or ability". If, as the editor suggests, the diary derives importance from the writer's insignificance, it ought to be a major revelation. Its commonplace line entries are too banal to be distinctive. The

second section has some very interesting material on the exiled Stewarts in Italy down to the death of Henry, Cardinal, Duke of York, in 1807. The editorial introduction by Miss Helen Catherine Stewart is a model in conciseness. In the third section we are in the realm of romance and lost treasures. Andrew Lang tried his omniscient cleverness on the fate of the 35,000 louis sent by Louis XV to the Stewarts after Culloden and buried on the shores of Locharkaig. Papers found in the archives at Windsor enable Marion F. Hamilton to account for a good part of it and to clear Archibald Cameron of the suspicions of his Scottish contemporaries that he had appropriated most of it. His associate, Cluny, is still left with very sticky fingers and perforated veracity.

The Invasion of Britain: An Account of Plans, Attempts, & Counter-measures from 1586 to 1918. By Admiral Sir HERBERT W. RICHMOND, Master of Downing College, Cambridge. [Published under the Auspices of the Historical Association.] (London, Methuen, 1941, pp. v, 81, 2s. 6d.) Neither new information nor original interpretations are found in this brief and closely written work intended for Britons suddenly brought face to face with the problems of defensive warfare at home in the summer of 1940. The master of Downing College has gathered together pertinent information on the less important proposed invasions of Britain as well as the frequently discussed plans of Philip II and Napoleon. At least until 1815 Britain was generally considered open to invasion, and both military and naval policy during the "Second Hundred Years War" with France was profoundly affected by the fear of either a direct attack or one by way of Ireland. Even after 1815 occasional scares kept alive the old fear which has now again become the fundamental element in British national policy.

The Ideas and Ideals of the British Empire. By ERNEST BARKER. [Current Problems, General Editor, Ernest Barker.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. viii, 167, \$1.25.) Lectures to university audiences as far apart as London, Benares, and Cologne are the basis of this brief volume, but they have been combined into a work which is both coherent and readable. Sir Ernest Barker's concern is to catch the distinctive spirit of the British Empire and to show how it animated the Commonwealth, the Indian Empire, and the dependent Empire in the prewar years. Some readers will feel that he is not enough concerned with the solution of imperial problems, and others will regret that no attempt is made to assess the already considerable effects of the present war on imperial relations. The limited purpose is achieved with such skill, however, that the volume should be made required reading for all whose proposals for future Anglo-American relations are based more on good will than knowledge.

The Natalians: Further Annals of Natal. With Introductions by ALAN F. HATTERSLEY, Professor of History in the University College of Natal, (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter; London, John Clark, 1940, pp. 200, 10s. 6d.) This is the third volume of the annals of the colony of Natal which Professor Hattersley began to publish some years ago. In these volumes it has been made very clear that the materials exist in ample amount for a genuine social history of the everyday things of nineteenth century colonization. Such a history, and a history of land speculation in South Africa, on which this volume provides some interesting new evidence, are perhaps the two most important themes which still await their historian. These eminently readable extracts from letters, journals, newspapers, and official reports reveal very much that is necessarily absent from more formal dispatches and blue books. A casual description of the buildings in the early capital of Natal shows that the three first public buildings to be

built corresponded to the three pillars of Boer society. The *Raadzaal* expressed their invincible democracy; the church expressed their reliance on their Bible and their pastors; and the prison, with its stocks and manacles worn through in a few years, expressed their determination that in a society of white men and black men authority should be fully in the hands of the superior race. More annals will be welcome. Still more welcome would be the social history for which these annals are a good introduction.

C. W. DE KIEWIET.

British Policy on War Debts and Reparations. By CARL M. FRASURE, Professor of Political Science, West Virginia University. (Philadelphia, Dorrance, 1940, pp. 188, \$2.00.) This little study constitutes a brief survey of those aspects of reparations and war debts most interesting to American readers—from the birth of the question in World War I to its presumable death (and resurrection?) in World War II. The special angle of the book, as its title declares, is British policy. It contains, therefore, extended treatment at every point of the British motivations and reactions that affected or resulted from policy. It cannot be said that there is much new material here. The standard accounts have been relied upon for the general picture. To give us the special viewpoint of the British, however, the author has conscientiously explored the files of the London *Times* and of the Manchester *Guardian*, along with those of the *Parliamentary Debates*. If, in most cases, that viewpoint has been pretty well known before, it is now confirmed and buttressed by fresh evidence. The book is not a commentary but a treatment *de novo*. The notes and speeches, the several agreements, the content of the Dawes and Young Plans, the particular incidents and general events, are handled as if the reader did not previously know of them. Such treatment makes the book longer than is necessary for scholars. But it also increases its value as a sober, careful study likely to be of value as collateral reading in a college course. The writing is good without being exciting. More of the author's own opinions and insights would have been welcome. The footnotes, bibliography, and index are all satisfactory.

PHILIP M. BURNETT.

This is England Today. By ALLAN NEVINS, Sometime Harmsworth Professor of American History in the University of Oxford. (New York, Scribner's, 1941, pp. x, 164, \$1.25.) This slight volume is a good piece of reporting by an American historian with a sense of news values and a rare opportunity to see everything that was to be seen in England in the spring and summer of 1941. One may have seen the same material in scattered news reports, but you read it with more confidence and interest when it comes from the pen of Allan Nevins, Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford.

Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31. Edited by R. HARVEY FLEMING, University of Toronto. With an Introduction by H. A. INNIS, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto. General Editor, E. E. RICH, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, III.] (Toronto, the Society, 1940, pp. lxxvii, 480.) The present volume is third in a series which began with Simpson's Athabaska Journal and was continued in Robertson's Correspondence, 1817-1822. Being a collection of documents, it cannot be said, strictly speaking, to continue a story. But in a real sense it takes up the main threads of the history of the fur trade in British North America where the preceding volume leaves off and traces it down to another logical stopping place ten years later. Robertson's Correspondence covers the transition in the fur trade from rivalry to coalition. The *Minutes of Council* bridges the gap between the union of the two older companies and the consolidation of the new. The

minutes themselves are more than the records of a fur department. They are the main evidence of the process by which George Simpson, the chief agent in America of the supreme governing body of the Hudson's Bay Company in England, centralized authority in himself and the London directors, reduced chaos to order in the fur fields, and transformed an economy of ruinous competition into one of near-monopoly and increasing profit. Why, apart from the desirability of securing completeness in a series, documents which were already in print should be included in a new volume, is explained in the preface. Any further justification that might be required is more than supplied by the inclusion of an introductory survey and analysis, by Professor H. A. Innis, of contemporary British American fur trade and its relations with the United States. In every respect the volume, as far as may be, is uniform and comparable with its two admirable predecessors.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

Une plantation de Saint-Domingue: La sucrerie Galbaud du Fort (1690-1802). By G. DEBIEN. (Cairo, Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1941, pp. 136.) Students of French colonization have long been familiar with the name of Gabriel Debien from his publications on the sources of the history of the colonies, particularly St. Domingue. Among these publications may be mentioned "Les sources de l'histoire coloniale aux archives de la Vienne", *Revue des bibliothèques* (1934), and *Les sources manuscrites de l'histoire et de la géographie de Saint-Domingue*. A perusal of the monograph under review makes plain that Debien's study of the sources has been but a prelude, a necessary prelude, to his rewriting of the history. This little volume constitutes a most valuable addition to the literature on St. Domingue. Based largely on private papers, some in the possession of Count Galbaud du Fort at Angers and others preserved in the ancestral Fort castle near Nantes, it recounts with rigorous objectivity the vicissitudes of an average sugar plantation in the Léogane region over a period of more than a century. Eleven maps, views, plans, and graphs of sugar production and labor supply help the reader to follow the author's discussion. In addition, a detailed description of the manuscript sources is provided (pp. 9-19). This history of the Galbaud du Fort plantation happily does not stand *in vacuo*. M. Debien's extensive knowledge enables him to place it in perspective against that of the colony and the times. Even so severe a critic as the late M. Tramond could scarcely have found fault with such work. CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.

Diderot's Treatment of the Christian Religion in "The Encyclopédie". By JOSEPH EDMUND BARKER, Associate Professor of French, Sweet Briar College. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1941, pp. 143, \$2.00.) Diderot's attitude toward Christianity has usually been analyzed largely on the basis of his philosophical essays and similar writings. Here, however, is a study based on his articles in the *Encyclopédie*. These are compared with similar articles in Chamber's *Cyclopaedia* and the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, from which Diderot took much of his material verbatim. But changes and additions were made, and these reveal his personal beliefs. Diderot wished to present objectively the basic tenets of Christianity and at the same time propagandize the ideas of the Enlightenment—but not so much as to risk suppression of the *Encyclopédie*. Thus much that he wrote was orthodox, but here and there his own opinions found expression. Various means were used: satire and irony, ineffectual defense of orthodox doctrines, cross references to less orthodox articles, and emphasis in nonreligious articles on his personal convictions as to religion and a humanistic morality. Dr. Barker has made a thorough study of a somewhat narrow subject, and his book is a useful supplement to the literature on Diderot and the *Encyclopédie*. The footnotes are poorly organized, and there are a few typographical errors (pp. 32-33, 94, n. 61, 97, 107, n. 17).

GORDON H. McNEIL.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Estonia. By J. HAMPDEN JACKSON. (New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. 248, \$2.25.)

Here is a volume richly deserving a wide and intelligent public. Within its compass the author, whose *Finland* appropriately came into the limelight at the height of the Russo-Finnish War, has condensed the essentials of Estonia's cultural and economic history down to the untimely end of the Republic in the summer of 1940. Buttressed by excellent bibliography, the treatment is friendly and sympathetic, with insight into the Estonian people's psychology and cultural inheritance. Without being Estonian *à l'outrance*, Jackson nevertheless manages to catch the feeling of the people and to reflect it with fine accuracy and understanding. After an incisive account of the period of the Orders and the Golden Age of Swedish rule, the author quickly passes to the rule of the Balts under Russian overlordship. His picture of the *ancien régime*, a century ago, is as fine as any known to this reviewer. Skillfully he tells of the national awakening, of the futile efforts at Russification, and of the War of Liberation which brought independence. Five meaty chapters devoted to the Republic trace the full cycle of liberalism in the 1920's, crisis and authoritarianism in the 1930's—from which Estonia was partially emerging—down to the final military occupation of the country by the Red Army and the forced annexation to the U.S.S.R. In a

moving final chapter on "Things That Endure" Jackson evaluates Estonia's permanent contributions to linguistics, literature, the arts, and education. In these and other variform manifestations of Estonian nationalism he sees "the abiding nature of the legacy of history". From the dual heritage of aristocratic and democratic modes there will evolve, he believes, "the real synthesis of Estonian society", concluding that "it would have been for the 'forties to provide the synthesis, if God had granted peace". It was Estonia's tragedy that, in her strategic setting, neither national probity nor international rectitude could purchase it.

MALBONE W. GRAHAM.

Den 9. april: Norge og verdensrevolusjonen. By B. DYBWAD BROCHMANN. (Bergen, Eget Forlag, 1940, pp. 136, 3 kr.)

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

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ITALY

Nuove ricerche sugli inizi del pontificato di Pio IX e sulla Consulta di Stato. By ALBERTO M. GHISALBERTI. (Rome, Regio Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1939, pp. 206, 20 l.) From the reports sent to his government by the Dutch minister in Rome, August de Liedkerke Beaufort (1830-56), hitherto unnoticed, Professor Ghisalberti has gleaned some details concerning the election of Pius IX. More important is the light thrown on the early reforms of Pius IX and on the confusion and weakness of the new pontificate. The so-called liberalism of Pius IX appears to have been even at that time only a pious myth. Convinced of the inescapable necessity of adopting some of the suggestions of the Memorandum of the great powers in 1831 addressed to his predecessor, but opposed to the secularization of the administration of the Pontifical States, Pius IX stumbled *malgré lui* into an impasse. His reforms came always too late to do any good and did not affect the pontifical system of civil government. The hopeless confusion of his early policies is well exemplified by the institution of the *Consulta di Stato*, 1847-48, the history of which forms the bulk of the book. Its hand-picked members came mostly from the provincial aristocracy, a class which for centuries had been carefully excluded from political affairs, but it included also a few men of ability who took their task seriously. It did not take long for them to discover that the government had no intention of carrying on their plans. Cardinal Antonelli, who presided at their meetings, saw to it that nothing should come out of their deliberations and, when he got tired of them, dismissed them without much ado. G. LA PIANA.

RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Istoriya oblastnovo upravleniya v Rossii ot Petra I do Yekateriny II [history of provincial government in Russia from Peter I to Catherine II]. Volume II. By YURIĬ V. GAUTIER. (Moscow, Izdat. Akademii nauk SSSR, 1941, pp. 303, 14.50 r.) This is the conclusion of a monograph, the first part of which was published in 1913. In addition to a summary, the volume contains eight chapters bearing, respectively, the following headings: the provincial organs of control; commis-

sions for the investigation of abuses of provincial authorities; special provincial agencies which functioned alongside the regular provincial institutions; criticism of the provincial government and suggestions for reform before Catherine II; first steps in the reorganization of provincial government, 1762-65; criticism of the provincial government in the 60's; innovations in provincial government in the last decade before the reform of 1775; old institutions after the reform of 1775 and their abolition. Appended to the book are: "Ukazes and regulations not included in the First Collection of Laws".

Ocherki po istorii moskovskovo universiteta [studies in the history of the University of Moscow]. Volume I, edited by Professor J. D. UDALTZOV and others; Volume II, by Professor V. I. LEBEDEV and others. [*Uchenye zapiski moskovskovo Gos. universiteta, yubileinaya seriya*, vyp. 50-51.] (Moscow, Izdaniye MGU, 1940, pp. 95, 125, 30 r.) This work, written by various hands, covers the history of the second oldest institution of higher learning in Russia from its foundation down to the present day. It was published to mark the university's 185th anniversary, which was celebrated in 1940. Short biographies of Timiryazev, the naturalist, and Pavel Sternberg, the astronomer, both of whom died in 1920, are appended to Volume II.

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

E. H. Pritchard

A History of the Far East in Modern Times. By HAROLD M. VINACKE, Professor of International Law and Politics, University of Cincinnati. Fourth edition. (New York, Crofts, 1941, pp. xvii, 641, \$5.00.) The fact that this volume, which first appeared in 1928, has gone into its fourth edition is clear evidence of distinguished usefulness as a text for college courses in the Far East. The second half of the book has been brought down to date and largely rewritten. Some of the maps of the third edition have been omitted and others added. The essential character of the work has not been altered. The title is well chosen. Except for fewer than fifty pages of rapidly sketched background, the narrative does not attempt to cover the history before the nineteenth century. The emphasis, moreover, is upon political and diplomatic developments. The sections dealing with the intellectual, social, and economic phases of the story comprise only about a fifth of the whole. In these restrictions of compass lie the book's chief limitations. For comprehensive survey courses only a truncated picture is given of an area in which the pre-nineteenth century past and the nonpolitical features of civilization are of prime importance for an understanding of the present. However, as an objective, careful, accurate, and rather full summary of the period and phases with which it deals the book is thoroughly admirable.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

A Syllabus of the History of Chinese Civilization and Culture. By L. C. GOODRICH, H. C. FENN. Third edition. (New York, China Society of America, 1941, pp. 56, 75 cents.) This very valuable work divides Chinese history into a number of periods with topics for each period. Under each topic are given the latest and best bibliographical references. At the end is a further bibliography of books and journals, and there are a number of valuable maps and charts.

The Wandering Lake. By SVEN HEDIN. (London, Kegan Paul; New York, Dutton, 1940, pp. x, 291, 18s., \$3.75.) Deals with the various shifts in the bed of Lake Lop-nor in Central Asia.

The Tower of Five Glories. By C. P. FITZGERALD. (London, Cresset Press; Forest Hills, New York, Transatlantic Arts, 1941, pp. 280, 16s.) A study of the Minchia, a rather highly civilized non-Chinese tribe of Yunnan.

The Development of Protestant Theological Education in China. By C. STANLEY SMITH. (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1941, pp. x, 171, U. S. \$2.00.)

The Fellowship of Goodness (T'ung Shan She): A Study in Contemporary Chinese Religion. By JOHN C. DEKORNE. (Grand Rapids, the author, 1941, pp. viii, 109, \$2.00.)

Chinese Peasant Cults. By CLARENCE BURTON DAY. (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1940, pp. xx, 243, U. S. \$3.50.)

The Silk Industry of China. By D. K. LIEU. (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh for the China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941, pp. xviii, 263.)

The Chinese Year Book, 1940-1941. (Hong Kong, Commercial Press, 1941, pp. xviii, 826, Ch. \$25.00 plus postage.) This work is prepared by the Council of

International Affairs at Chungking. In addition to general information it contains an account of the Sino-Japanese war, of China's wartime government, and a large new map of China in a separate envelope.

America and Japan. Edited by WILLIAM P. MADDOX. [Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.] (Philadelphia, the Academy, 1941, pp. 247, \$2.00.) This work contains twenty-eight articles by outstanding persons dealing with Japan and her relations with the United States. They are arranged under the following topics: bases of Japan's East Asiatic policies, factors affecting America's Far Eastern policies, the problem of cultural divergence, the latest phase in American-Japanese relations, and the immediate future. A large number of recent books relating to the Far East are also reviewed.

The United States and Japan's New Order. By WILLIAM C. JOHNSTONE. [Issued under the Auspices of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. xii, 392, \$3.00.) The need for a solid documentation of American Far Eastern policy is more apparent now than at the time when Mr. Johnstone's book appeared. This book deals with effects of the Sino-Japanese conflict on American rights and interests in China and on American Far Eastern policy. The first two parts of the book, dealing, respectively, with rights and interests in China, define both carefully and methodically. The historical background, the general significance, and the effects upon them of Japanese actions are very adequately discussed. There is much virtue in the distinction between "rights" and "interests". The former include rights of extraterritoriality, residence, trade and travel, protection of citizens and property, shipping and inland navigation, etc. American interests are classified as economic, religious, educational, and philanthropic. The third section discusses the effects of the Sino-Japanese conflict on American Far Eastern policy. It concludes with a suggested Far Eastern policy for the United States which the Japanese have now made out of date as far as the immediate objectives are concerned. Many of the suggestions made by Mr. Johnstone have, in fact, been followed. His discussion of basic objectives is still valid. The book contains a very useful appendix, including excerpts from the major treaties with China, and ends with the important address of October, 1939, of the American ambassador to Japan. There are a useful bibliographical note and a foreword by Admiral H. E. Yarnell. This book is useful to both the general reader and the specialist. It is readable, comprehensive, and accurate. It is no criticism to suggest, however, that there is still room for a comprehensive and critical analysis of American policy in the Far East. The author of this book would be well qualified to make the attempt.

GEORGE E. TAYLOR.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

American Portrait Inventory. Compiled by the New Jersey Historical Records Survey Project, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Research and Records Sections, W. P. A. 1440 *Early American Portrait Artists (1663-1860)*. (Newark, Historical Records Survey, 1940, pp. ix, 305, mimeographed.) Few subjects of learned study have been as neglected as the history of American painting. Working in this almost unexplored field, the W.P.A. staff of the *American Portrait Inventory* has under the wise leadership of Dr. George C. Groce, jr., attacked fundamentals by publishing a list of 1,440 portrait painters who worked in this country before 1860. Since even the names and most basic facts about hundreds of these painters, some of true aesthetic excellence, had never been recorded, the book is an important contribution. The artists are arranged alphabetically; the type of work they did characterized; the places and dates of birth, professional activity, and death given; and brief bibliographies

appended. There are chronological and geographical indexes. This work, which made use of many previously unexploited sources, is so vast in scope that it is not remarkable that errors of fact and omission have slipped in. Dr. Groce and the staff of the *American Portrait Inventory* are, however, engaged in checking and expanding their study; copies have been sent to leading authorities with the request that they note mistakes and suggest additions. The revised volume which the editors hope eventually to publish should constitute one of the most valuable reference works in the field of American painting.

JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER.

Eighteenth-Century American Arts: The M. and M. Karolik Collection of Paintings, Drawings, Engravings, Furniture, Silver, Needlework, and Incidental Objects . . . from 1720 to 1820. By EDWIN JAMES HIPKISS. Notes by HENRY P. ROSSITER. Comments by MAXIM KAROLIK. [Museum of Fine Arts.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941, pp. 701, \$10.00.)

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the Semi-annual Meeting held in Boston, April 17, 1940. Volume 50, Part 1. (Worcester, the Society, 1941, pp. 162, \$1.50.)

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the Annual Meeting held in Worcester, October 16, 1940. Volume 50, Part 2. (*Ibid.*, pp. 162-334, \$1.50.) Part I contains a fresh examination, by John H. Scheide, of the "Lexington Alarm" (thirty-one pages), presenting numerous documents and extracts, including one document which has only recently come to light. Other contents are: "Harvard College Library and the Libraries of the Mathers", by Henry Joel Cadbury; "Those Human Puritans", by Henry Andrew Wright; "Nathaniel Evans—Some Notes on his Ministry", by Edgar Legare Pennington; "David Claypoole Johnston, 'The American Cruikshank'", by Clarence S. Brigham; and "The Berkshire Republican Library at Stockbridge, 1794-1818", by Harry Miller Lydenberg. Part II contains a paper by Edward Alexander Parsons on "Jean Lafitte in the War of 1812: A Narrative based on Original Documents" and a monographic study, by John Hill Morgan, of "John Watson, Painter, Merchant, and Capitalist of New Jersey, 1685-1768".

A Bibliography of the Virginia Campaign and Siege of Yorktown, 1781: Being a Part of the Master Bibliography of Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, Virginia, as of September, 1941. Compiled by the Staff of the Historical Division, Colonial National Historical Park. (Yorktown, Colonial National Historical Park, 1941, pp. ii, 162, mimeographed.) Students of the military history of the American Revolution will be interested in this annotated bibliography of the Yorktown campaign. A limited number of copies are available for distribution to those especially interested.

General Washington's Correspondence concerning the Society of the Cincinnati. Edited by Lieutenant-Colonel EDGAR ERSKINE HUME. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1941, pp. xlv, 472, \$4.50.) The organization by the officers of the disbanding army of the United States of America in May, 1783, of the Society of the Cincinnati in order to perpetuate the memory of their services, the choice of General Washington to be the society's president general, the fierce blasts of political denunciation that were immediately turned loose upon the Cincinnati, chiefly because of its hereditary membership—these are all facts that are generally well known. What is less well known, if known at all, is that during the remaining sixteen years of his life General Washington carried on, as president general of the society, a correspondence with members and would-be members,

with state and district branches, and particularly with former French officers of the army, who had organized the society in France under the title, *L'Ordre de Cincinnatus*. It is these letters from and to General Washington, more than three hundred in number, that Colonel Hume has gathered from far and wide and assembled in this volume. Letters to and from Washington are not, however, the sole content of the volume. Colonel Hume has given a documented account of the organization of the society, of the political criticism that it encountered both in the United States and in France, a list of the principal officers from 1783 to 1935, and a list of the dates and places of meeting as late as 1941. In addition, there is a supplement, fifty-five pages in extent, giving biographical sketches of the principal people represented in the correspondence—112 of them. The labor involved in preparing these sketches may well be judged from the fact that one half the men were Frenchmen or other foreigners. This volume, which is the ninth of Colonel Hume's books pertaining to the Cincinnati (he has also written some forty-six articles on the subject), is a notable contribution to the history of an order that drove some of "the fathers" to tear their hair but does not in our day stir so much as a croak from any political radical, whether rampant or recumbent.

The Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860. By Sister MARIE LÉONORE FELL. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1941, pp. ix, 259, \$2.00.) This is a pedestrian study, based on diligent search through hundreds of contemporary textbooks. The author divides her subject into three periods, 1783-1815, 1815-40, and 1840-60, and in each examines the readers, geographies, and histories used in the primary and secondary schools for evidence of nativistic sentiments. The ample results of her digging are to be found in the hundreds of quotations that stud the pages of her book, all praising English Protestantism and heaping scorn, ridicule, or abuse on Catholics and aliens. The author makes no attempt to interpret her material, and indeed none is needed, for the facts speak for themselves. Certainly nearly all children schooled in the pre-Civil War era must have been steeped in antipapal sentiments from the cradle, a condition which helps explain the success of the Know-Nothing party. The fact that nearly all of the books examined showed an anti-Catholic rather than an antiforeign bias strengthens the conclusion that the nativism of this period was primarily a religious movement.

RAY A. BILLINGTON.

Lincoln, 1809-1839: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from February 12, 1809, to December 31, 1839. By HARRY E. PRATT. (Springfield, Abraham Lincoln Association, 1941, pp. lxxxvii, 256, \$3.75.) This is the fourth to appear in a series which covers Lincoln's activities day by day (so far as known) from his birth to his inauguration as president. For the previously published volumes a uniform pattern was used: a page for each week, uniform space for each day, blank spaces where evidence was lacking. In the earlier part of the present work entries naturally had to be given in disregard of even spacing of weeks and days, but the former pattern is used from 1834 on wherever possible. Prior to Lincoln's entrance into the legislature in December, 1834, entries cover thirty-one pages, some of them referring to Thomas Lincoln or members of his family; beginning with 1835 there are fewer blanks than might be supposed. The provenance of each item is given, and the thing cited is usually a genuine source (e.g., the Black Hawk War Collection in the Illinois State Historical Library). At times, however, one finds references to such a title as "*The Lincoln Kinsman*, No. 19" (not a source at all) or to Hertz's

Hidden Lincoln, where the real source is the Herndon Manuscripts, some of which are available. Many references are to autobiographical bits by Lincoln himself. Occasionally the reference must be to an item in a manuscript dealer's catalogue. Not only were many sources diligently searched for this volume, but problems of evidence had to be mastered, e.g., where Lincoln was a ghost writer or employed a pseudonym. In some cases the volume supplements Lincoln's known writings as previously collected. The introduction by Dr. Pratt is a scholarly account of Lincoln in the period treated. As a whole, careful historianship matches the handsome format of the volume. Maps, tables, and an appendix of notes add to its convenience and value.

J. G. RANDALL.

Lincoln on the Eve of '61: A Journalist's Story. By HENRY VILLARD. Edited by HAROLD G. and OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD. (New York, Knopf, 1941, pp. viii, 105, \$1.25.) A few days after the first election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency, Henry Villard came to Springfield, Illinois, as a representative of the New York *Herald*. From that time until late February, 1861, he sent almost daily dispatches to his paper. His stories dealt with the politics of the day, but in them the President-Elect was generally in the foreground. They constitute an excellent journalistic appraisal of the man who was to head the nation during four critical years. *Lincoln on the Eve of '61* is a selection of Villard's dispatches. The editors apparently chose their material with the general reader in mind, for they included only the most colorful dispatches and passages. Their rigorous selection will, therefore, send the student to a file of the New York *Herald*, where he will find the complete record that Villard produced. But if the book does this only, it will serve a useful purpose even for serious researchers.

PAUL M. ANGLE.

The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870. By HENRY LEE SWINT, Department of History, Vanderbilt University. (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1941, pp. ix, 221, \$2.50.) This is a study of the Northern teachers, "the spiritual followers of the armies of Grant and Sherman", who were sent South after the Civil War by the various freedmen's aid societies. It is a study of "their motives, their attitudes, and their experiences" and of the motives of the business and professional men who supported them. It is not a study of Negro education in the South nor of the social and political effects of the work of the Northern societies. The author finds that the officers of the several societies, whether bankers, industrialists, editors, or ministers, were drawn together by "a profound interest in various humanitarian movements and social experiments". Many were abolitionists of long standing, others had "views" on war, tobacco, intoxicating beverages, woman suffrage, penal reform, societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and the relief of the downtrodden and the unfortunate. Moreover, many of the businessmen were aware of the economic aspects of their humanitarianism: "the freedmen's school was to be one of the means by which the economic and political 'fruits of victory' were to be harvested". Individual teachers went South for financial reasons, health, or sympathy for the black man; "practically all were religious to the point of fanaticism"; and the majority had "little knowledge of the social order which had existed" in the South. They came mainly from New England, especially from the former centers of the underground railroad; even those from the Middle West "came from centers of heavy New England settlement". Their reception was "definite, decided, and violent", not because the Southern people were opposed to Negro education, but because it was in the hands of those who were thought to teach social equality and who identified themselves politically with the Radical Republicans.

R. H. WOODY.

The Constitution and what it means Today. By EDWARD S. CORWIN. Seventh edition. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1941, pp. xiv, 277, \$2.50.)

History of the United States Food Administration, 1917-1919. By WILLIAM CLINTON MULLENDORE. With an Introduction by HERBERT HOOVER and a Foreword and Bibliography by RALPH HASWELL LUTZ. [The Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace.] (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1941, pp. xiv, 399, \$4.50.) In view of the present emergency and as a contribution to what may be again a problem, certainly when peace comes, the Hoover Library and the Stanford Press have published this volume. It is really the official history of the Food Administration written in 1921. Mr. Hoover's introduction is dated 1920. Dr. Lutz's preface gives a list of the studies on various phases of the food problem in war that have appeared since 1921.

Preliminary Inventory of the War Industries Board Records. [Preliminary Inventory, No. 1.] (Washington, National Archives, 1941, pp. xvii, 134.)

War comes to America! A Lecture Series presented by the University of Minnesota in cooperation with the University Defense Committee, and under the general direction of LAWRENCE D. STEFFEL, Associate Professor of History. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1942, pp. 68, \$1.00.) This volume of addresses by members of the departments of history, economics, geography, and political science of the University of Minnesota is based on scholarship and objective in approach and treatment. It will be useful in clarifying the minds of the general public and of students dealing with war issues in the classroom.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- An Introduction to the History of Early New England Methodism, 1789-1839.* By GEORGE CLAUDE BAKER, JR. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1941, pp. vii, 145, \$2.50.) In the title of this slender monograph the word *Introduction* is to be stressed. There are eighty pages of text under the single caption "Introduction", followed by over fifty pages of bibliography of source and secondary material. The text is preponderantly a chronology with comment on events and individual activities. It is useful as an outline if the larger task of writing the history of Methodism in New England is undertaken by the exploitation of the material listed in the excellent bibliography. The Duke University Press makes its contribution in producing an appropriate format for the book.
- The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860.* By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. New edition. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1941, pp. 431, \$4.00.)
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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

- Archives of Maryland*. Volume LVII, *Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1666-1670*. [Court Series 8.] J. HALL PLEASANTS, Editor, LOUIS DOW SCISCO, Associate Editor. [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society.] (Baltimore, the Society, 1940, pp. lxii, 647, \$3.00.) The period covered by this volume is but a short five years, yet a perusal

of the records gives one an intimate acquaintance with the life of Maryland in the closing years of the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Though not differing greatly in character from the immediately preceding volumes, this period shows a marked change in legal procedure, such as an increasing conformity to English legal forms and customs, while at the same time an increasing adaptation of procedure to frontier requirements. Moreover, it is the period in which the professional lawyer takes his place in the courts. As hitherto, an admirable introduction, some fifty pages in extent, guides the student through the mazes of the court records. Likewise there is a good index (twenty-three pages). Although this is the eighth stout volume of the records of Maryland colonial courts, we are still thirty years from the close of the seventeenth century, more than a hundred years from the American Revolution. So commendable has been the progress, so excellent the exposition thus far, that our faith in the final perseverance of the saints of the Maryland Historical Society is secure.

The Hundred Year History of the German Correspondent, Baltimore, Maryland.

By EDMUND E. MILLER. (Baltimore, Baltimore Correspondent Printing Company, 1941, pp. 24, 25 cents.)

The Trinity College Historical Society, 1892-1941. By NANNIE M. TILLEY. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1941, pp. viii, 133, \$1.00.) While a few decades ago North Carolinians were said to know little about their history and to care less, today their interest in the subject is manifested in a variety of ways. Not only do they maintain a number of active historical societies, but the time has now come when a history of such a society can be published. The present little volume has been produced to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Trinity College Historical Society, founded in 1892 by Stephen Beauregard Weeks and carried forward under the guidance of John Spencer Bassett and William Kenneth Boyd. The society has played its full part in the life of Trinity College (now Duke University) and indeed has influenced the intellectual development of the state of North Carolina and of the South at large. The society began as an organization devoted mainly to local history, with meetings open to all and with both professionals and amateurs taking part freely in the meetings, but with the evolution of the college into a university, the society has become professionalized and is now merely the organ of the faculty and graduate students of the department of history, while the topics discussed are largely outside the field of local history. In this latter capacity it no doubt serves a useful function, but one wonders whether the transformation of the more popular early organization does not constitute a distinct loss. The author has presented a well-balanced, straightforward account, the value of which is increased by the inclusion of lists of the charter members of the society and of its officers, a bibliography of its publications, and a usable index.

C. C. CRITTENDEN.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington to the Legislative Assembly, 1854-1889. Edited by CHARLES M. GATES. [University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences.] (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1940, pp. xx, 297, \$3.00.) As editor of this volume Dr. Charles M. Gates has done well two tasks; he has written a well-phrased and helpful but brief introduction and biographical notes on the governors, and he has reproduced the documents with fidelity and completeness. These messages of territorial governors contain an astonishing amount of data bearing on the social, economic, and political life of the state of Washington and of the Northwest. Historians of transportation, public lands, population movements, and even of policy in the Pacific Ocean will find material in them. The first document is the message of Governor Isaac I. Stevens, February 28, 1854, and the volume ends with the inaugural address of the first governor of the state, Elisha P. Ferry, November 18, 1889. The last two territorial governors were residents of the territory at the time of their appointment. The others were sent out from the East like colonial governors to a distant dominion. On the whole, they were a decent and reasonably able group of political appointees and concerned themselves intelligently with promoting the interests of their frontier dominion. They compare favorably with the average of their elected successors. The volume is a brave start in what, one may hope, is to be a series of volumes of documents on the history of Washington.

Ohio Mennonite Sunday Schools. By JOHN SYLVANUS UMBLE. [Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, No. 5.] (Goshen, Mennonite Historical Society, 1941, pp. 538, \$2.00.)

South Dakota Place Names. Enlarged and revised. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of South Dakota. (Vermillion, University of South Dakota, 1941, pp. 689.) Compilations such as the above, along the lines of the volume prepared years ago by Warren Upham for Minnesota place names, are always interesting and make a worthwhile W. P. A. project. A historian with a lively mind could spark such a miscellany into some interesting side lights on social history. The material in this volume is well organized and seemingly complete.

"Republican" Letters. By SAMUEL L. CLEMENS. Edited by CYRIL CLEMENS. Foreword by Sir Hugh Walpole. (Webster Groves, International Mark Twain Society, 1941, pp. 51, \$2.00.)

Indian-fighting Army. By FAIRFAX DOWNEY. (New York, Scribner's, 1941, pp. xii, 320, \$3.50.) This book in the main is a collection of some of the best-known stories growing out of the warfare between the Indians and the United States Army during the two decades following the Civil War, tales that can stand retelling when done as well as Mr. Downey has rendered them. He has presented them in as thrilling a style, probably, as they have ever been made known to the reader. In the telling of these Indian campaigns Mr. Downey has introduced

many famous Indian fighters and presented an authentic picture of garrison life in frontier army posts. Occasional flights of fancy illuminate the picture and enhance their interest. This undocumented book is obviously intended for popular reading, for which it is well fitted in spite of a few lapses from historical accuracy that the average reader will not notice. For instance, on page 121 the author refers to the Kiowa warrior Big Tree as "Lone Tree"; on page 136 he says: "On September 9, 1874, an emigrant family named German, journeying through Indian Territory, was surrounded by Cheyennes." Only the date, name, and place are wrong. The interest and beauty of the book are enhanced by a large number of Remington's best pictures. It contains an excellent bibliography and index.

GRANT FOREMAN.

The Cheyenne Way: Conflict and Case Law in Primitive Jurisprudence. By K. N. LLEWELLYN and E. ADAMSON HOEBEL. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1941, pp. ix, 360, \$3.00.) The ground plan of this book is almost as interesting as the results. A lawyer well read in social science has teamed up with a young anthropologist to apply the case method to the primitive jurisprudence of the Cheyenne Indians. Mr. Hoebel did the field work, gathering the material according to forms and techniques experimentally tested with other and less legally minded Indians than the Cheyennes. Professor Llewellyn cast it in the shape of fifty-three cases in law text form. There is much incidental material on tribal customs having a formalized or semilegal character. The result is interesting in substance and methodology. It adds another valuable volume to the lengthening list of works dealing with the Indians and published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Democracy in the Middle West, 1840-1940. Edited by JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS and JAMES G. RANDALL. [The Appleton-Century Historical Essays, edited by William E. Lingelbach.] (New York, Appleton-Century, 1941, pp. xvi, 117, \$1.25.) "This little volume, the fifth in the Appleton-Century Historical Essays Series, consists of studies by recognized authorities in American history with an especial interest in the life and institutions of the Middle West"—thus is this book described in the foreword. The four vignettes—for so they may be called—were first presented (in part) at an annual convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Memphis, Tennessee, in 1939 as springboards for discussion of the general topic, "The Changing Function of the Middle West in American Democracy". They proved to be stimulating food, as they will be for the general reader. They serve to show, for one thing, that "democracy" is a way of life—not a set of dogmas nor a constitution—and, for another thing, that society is dynamic and never static. As Lord Bryce pointed out in the final chapter of his second volume on *Modern Democracies*, "a study of the various forms government has taken cannot but raise the question what ground there is for the assumption that democracy is in its final form, an unwarranted assumption, for whatever else history teaches, it gives no ground for expecting finality in any human institution". And this little volume proves that thesis, for each writer interprets "democracy" differently and shows how changing social and economic conditions are reflected in the shifting conceptions of what the democratic process can—and cannot—do. Lord Bryce's final word might well be the final word in this volume also: "Hope, often disappointed but always renewed, is the anchor by which the ship that carries democracy . . . will have to ride out this latest storm. . . . It will never perish till after Hope has expired."

LOIS K. M. ROSENBERY.

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

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- Mexican Government Publications: A Guide to the More Important Publications*

of the National Government of Mexico, 1821-1936. By ANNITA MELVILLE KER. [Library of Congress.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. xxi, 333, \$1.25.)

The Pageant of South American History. By ANNE MERRIMAN PECK. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1941, pp. x, 405, \$3.00.) The author is an indefatigable traveler and photographer and writer of popular travel books. The book summarizes a year's reading. The illustrations are excellent.

Economic Defense of Latin America. By PERCY W. BIDWELL. [America Looks Ahead, No. 3.] (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. 96, cloth 50 cents, paper 25 cents.)

Argentina and the United States. By CLARENCE H. HARING, Robert Woods Bliss Professor of Latin American History and Economics, Harvard University. [America Looks Ahead, No. 5.] (*Ibid.*, pp. 77, cloth 50 cents, paper 25 cents.) The first of these pamphlets, written by an expert, sticks to its subject. The presentation is clear, brief, and well ordered. This issue measures up to the two previous ones in the series dealing with *Australia and the United States* and *Canada and the United States*. The booklet by Professor Clarence Haring on *Argentina and the United States* is even more important at the moment and is adequate in coverage and clear in presentation. It is a model of brevity. The World Peace Foundation is doing a very real educational service in issuing this series by authors whose scholarship and objectivity are unimpeachable.

South America and Hemisphere Defense. By J. FRED RIPPY, Professor of Latin American History, the University of Chicago. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1941, pp. xi, 101, \$1.50.) "There is an American system. . . . The present world crisis demands an examination of its history and its principles." The author, a well-known scholar in the field of Hispanic American history, then examines the American system with special reference to South America. The treatment is clear and competent even if compressed. It has most to say about the economic factors involved in the relations between the United States and the South American republics.

Good Neighbors: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, & Seventeen Other Countries. By HUBERT HERRING. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. x, 381, \$3.00.) "And Americans North want to know exactly who are those good neighbors for whom we are about to bare our breasts and armor plate . . . what they eat, think, and propose to do . . . what sort of men rule over them . . . whether they plan to play with us or with the foe . . . when and if that foe appears. That is what this book is about." The author is no uninformed fly-by-plane visitor. He has been for twenty years a visitor and student of the vast area he covers. If anyone can claim to write with a degree of certainty about anything other than what South Americans eat, the author is among the better-informed prophets, a role he declines by frequent use of the little word "or". The volume is not history, but it is worth reading by historians and other unassorted American citizens. The style is clear, but the load of facts it carries often makes the going heavy.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The next annual meeting of the Association will be held in Baltimore on December 28, 29, 30. Professor Stanley Pargellis of Yale University is chairman of the program committee. The action taken by the Council in Chicago governing registration at annual meetings will be published in a later issue, as will any special announcements of the program and local arrangements committees.

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
HELD AT THE STEVENS HOTEL, CHICAGO, DECEMBER 30, 1941, AT 3:30 P.M.

President Arthur M. Schlesinger presided.

The President presented Mr. Binns, the manager of the Stevens Hotel, who as a host welcomed the members of the Association as the hotel's guests.

The Executive Secretary made a special announcement about the temporary closing to the public of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress for a period of at least two weeks during the holidays.

The Executive Secretary reported on (a) the disposition of the resolution concerning the examination of textbooks by the N.A.M., (b) the possibility of creating a placement bureau, and (c) the recommendation by the chairman of the Committee on Nominations to move forward at once the referendum taken in regard to dates for nominations.

(a) A clear and excellent statement was drafted on the freedom of teaching; this was printed in the July issue of the *American Historical Review* and in the November issue of *Social Education*.

(b) The possibility of creating a placement bureau was discussed by the Executive Committee and informally by the Council, and it was decided that the situation did not seem favorable or feasible for its establishment.

(c) The Committee on Nominations was authorized to send out not later than April 1 the request for the suggestions by the membership of possible candidates, and to set July 1 as the latest date for the acceptance of replies.

This authorization by the Council is an adequate and constitutional method of disposing of the motion by Mr. Beale at the meeting in 1940.

The Executive Secretary then made a report briefly summarizing his annual report, which is to be printed in the April issue of the *American Historical Review*.

The *American Historical Review* is the last learned journal in the field of history that is functioning as it has done. Upon the Managing Editor and

the Board of Editors rests the responsibility. To all in this Association there ought to come the deep conviction that our civilization is an endless web and woof that must not be torn apart. Faith and devotion to standards of scholarship entrusted to us in this country must be maintained as never before. Those who remain on various campuses during the national crisis are the soldiers of learning. That they are doing their work in the classrooms, libraries, and laboratories to maintain institutions of learning in this country is an essential national task in war as it is in peace. Faith in one's own work should extend to faith in the Association. There is a difference between maintenance of civilization and maintenance of business as usual, and the historical business is of unusual importance at times like this.

The Executive Secretary reported that there was a possibility that the Pennsylvania organization of the W.P.A. would take over the work on the Bibliography of American Travel and complete it. No definite decision had as yet been made.

The Treasurer presented his report. This report was accepted and ordered placed on file.

The Executive Secretary reported that on December 28 the Council had discussed the holding of the 1942 meeting in Washington and had felt assured that plans could go ahead despite the congestion in Washington, unless transportation difficulties should develop; however, within the last twenty-four hours it had become apparent that the large margin of space in the Mayflower Hotel in previous years had disappeared. The hotel could give us no assurance for 1942. The Executive Committee has the authority to decide on a new location for the meeting in 1942. The Council had taken no action on the location for the meeting in 1943.

The Executive Secretary presented the nomination of the Council of Mr. Randolph Burgess for re-election to the Board of Trustees for a term of five years. The Association voted to re-elect Mr. Burgess.

The Executive Secretary reported briefly on the activities of the American Council of Learned Societies. He also summarized briefly the importance of this organization in view of current affairs in Washington. The A.C.L.S. may be rather influential and important in the question of special services; it is able to support learned nonprofit volumes in history and other fields. As the situation is in Washington in the field of the humanities, this organization through Mr. Waldo G. Leland and his connections will be very helpful to the government and to scholarship.

The Executive Secretary summarized the report submitted by Professor Roy F. Nichols as delegate to the Social Science Research Council. Projects described in the last report are near completion, and the survey of research in American history during the past five years has been completed. The research manual to serve as a laboratory guide in the field of local history has not been completed, as the original plan is being revised. Grants-in-aid

were awarded in the usual amount to historical scholars, and a fellowship in the field of Latin-American history was granted. The Committee on the Control of Social Data is considering how it may promote adequate documentation of the world conflict, particularly as it affects the United States. The Committee on American Economic History, supported by a generous grant of funds, has been constituted and is preparing to finance projects of its own planning in this area.

The Executive Secretary reported briefly on the activities of the National Parks Association, as presented by Mr. B. Floyd Flickinger, the Association's representative.

The Executive Secretary summarized the report of Professor J. Salwyn Schapiro, the representative on the Advisory Committee of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars. The committee had a threefold aim: (a) to aid personally the refugees; (b) to preserve their abilities for American scholarship; and (c) to assist the American institutions of higher learning in absorbing the refugee scholars. Funds were raised to accomplish the third aim from three sources: (1) from Jewish organizations, as most of the refugee scholars were Jews; (2) from the Rockefeller Foundation, which generally duplicated the amount granted by the committee; and (3) to a limited extent from the Oberlander Trust. According to the report of the committee, as of June 1, 1941, it was instrumental in placing 235 refugee scholars in American colleges and universities. Half of this number have been absorbed in the permanent staffs.

The Executive Secretary reported that the Council had appointed the committees for 1942, a list of which is given in the Council minutes for December 28, 1941.

The question was raised as to whether there was a more convenient time or less inconvenient time for the annual meeting than in December during the holiday period. Early September had been tried by many organizations, and many features had been found attractive. The uncertainty of the next two meetings suggests the possibility of trying a different time, such as early September. Transportation facilities would be better at that time of the year, and there is less danger of health difficulties. Professor A. C. Cole moved that the Executive Committee by referendum ascertain the sentiment of the members of the Association who have during the last few years attended the annual December meetings. This motion was seconded. After discussion, in which Professor Frank M. Anderson recalled the numerous occasions in the past when the same proposal came up, he offered a substitute motion which was accepted by Professor Cole, and without dissent the Association instructed the Council to take the date of the annual meeting under consideration and report to the Association at its earliest convenience.

Mr. Roy F. Nichols presented the following resolution:

Whereas, the American Historical Association has learned that the Historical Records Survey is in desperate need of an enlargement of its

central editorial staff in order to perform the services that it should for the various state committees for the Conservation of Cultural Resources and in order to maintain the same standards of scholarly excellence that have characterized the publications of the Historical Records Survey in the past, and whereas, the American Historical Association, being impressed by the need for protecting our historical records against the hazards of war and by the unique service which the Historical Records Survey can perform in this respect, hereby resolves,

That the proper authorities of the Work Projects Administration be respectfully petitioned to allocate sufficient funds to augment the central editorial staff of the Historical Records Survey.

Upon motion this resolution was carried.

Mr. Paul H. Buck presented the following report of the Committee on Nominations:

In 1938 a new electoral system was adopted, retaining the Committee on Nominations and maintaining the preliminary ballot, where members were invited to submit names. At least two names should be nominated by the Committee on Nominations, and twenty members may petition to add to the nominees named by the Committee on Nominations. The vote is by ballot. There was no increase in direct participation by members in election of officers. One in ten replied to the preliminary circular, and this ratio remains the same. In the preferential ballot of 1939, 357 votes were cast by an active membership that numbered 3,541. In the final ballot there were 366 votes. This year there were 307 votes in the preferential ballot and 329 votes on the final ballot. The situation is disappointing even if one thousand indicates a conservative minimum figure of interested members, and the proportion replying to the ballot is somewhat smaller. The Nominating Committee has evidence of very keen interest in the election of officers. A large number of members believe that a well-chosen ticket should be dominant in selecting officers. The Committee on Nominations is definitely important. The preliminary preferential ballot is of quite dubious utility. One fifth of the ballots were worthless for a variety of reasons, and there were only about 250 countable ballots. There were 114 different persons receiving votes for the second vice-presidency; two of these 114 reached fifteen votes each (the highest total); only four additional men received as many as ten votes each, and the usual number was three, two, or only one vote per person. Likewise for vacancies on the Committee on Nominations thirteen votes were the most received by one person, and no other person received as many as ten votes.

Far more useful to the committee than the above results were the letters sent in by various members of the Association, making suggestions as to nominations and also discussing certain problems of policy. Miss Lonn, the incoming chairman, hopes the practice of writing letters to the committee will be continued during 1942.

Thirty-five per cent of the total vote was received from three areas—the City and State of New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D. C.

The problem of succession faced the committee due to the death of Professor Thompson. Under the constitution the first vice-president becomes

president immediately upon the death of the president. The committee decided to apply a principle of reasonable treatment in this type of crisis. It adhered to the normal course in presenting Mr. Schlesinger for president in 1942. Professor Thompson's address, which had been prepared before his death, was presented at the annual dinner. The Committee on Nominations hopes this action will set a precedent of reasonable treatment in the case of a similar occurrence in the future.

Mr. Buck reported for the Committee on Nominations that Mr. Carl Stephenson of Cornell University and Mr. Arthur S. Aiton of the University of Michigan had been elected by mail ballot to the Council, and that Mr. Sidney Packard of Smith College and Mr. Walter P. Webb of the University of Texas had been elected to the Committee on Nominations. He further reported the following nominations: for President, Mr. Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard University; for First Vice-President, Miss Nellie Neilson of Mount Holyoke College; for Second Vice-President, Mr. William L. Westermann of Columbia University; for Treasurer, Mr. Solon J. Buck of the National Archives. Upon motion, duly adopted, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for the officers as nominated by the Committee on Nominations.

Mr. Louis Gottschalk, by request of the Council, presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President be directed to convey the thanks of the Association to Mr. Shepard Morgan and his associates on the Board of Trustees for their careful guardianship of the invested funds of the Association; to Mr. Curtis Nettels and his associates on the Program Committee for the interesting and stimulating program provided at the meeting in Chicago in 1941; and to Miss Bessie L. Pierce and her associates on the Local Arrangements Committee for their careful attention to the comfort of its members at that meeting.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 5:15 P.M.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, 1941

The report of the Executive Secretary for the current year will of necessity be somewhat briefer and more distinctly a summary of the reports of the chairmen of committees than has been the case in the past.

The present Executive Secretary assumed his responsibility on September 1, 1941. He found that through the courtesy of Mr. Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, there were at the disposal of the Association in the Annex of the Library five small studies on the fifth floor. The partition between two of these had been removed, giving us four rooms with an option on an additional study. This option has been taken up, and in order to give me a larger room another partition will be removed. One large

room will be available for the Assistant Editor of the *Review* with her files and the shelving for the books and other material necessary to her work. This room will also necessarily house some of the files of the other activities of the Association and supplies. Miss Washington, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, has one small study. The Executive Secretary will have the room made available by throwing two small studies together, and his secretary will be housed in the other small study.

In beginning the work on September 1 there was some confusion and delay. The transfer of files from both Philadelphia and New York was done after September 1. As the Library could not promptly furnish us with shelving and file cases and refused to allow us to bring in our own equipment, this material from the New York and Philadelphia offices was piled on the floor and unavailable or difficult to find. This situation has gradually improved. The Library, finding that it could not supply the stacks and files, has permitted us to bring the material in storage in the Archives Building into our offices. This, with the exception of one large desk, is of steel construction and is exactly similar to what the Library hoped to furnish. All these may seem minor details, but they have been a very considerable annoyance and furnished some real difficulties in any attempt to find out through the files just what procedures were to be carried on and what was the status of certain activities.

In the matter of the staff I was fortunate in securing the continued services of Miss Florence Miller, who had been Assistant Editor under Dr. Schuyler. I brought with me from Minneapolis Miss Harriet Bohning, a competent secretary who is carrying a very considerable amount of the detail of the office of Executive Secretary. Miss Washington carries on her duties as usual with occasional assistance by the hour. In a certain sense the fall months represent a peak in the activities of these three offices. There is, of course, the task of preparing and getting out the January issue of the *Review*. In those same months come such parts of the tasks of preparation and dispatch of the annual program as are undertaken by this office. Further, we must call for all reports from committees and ask of the individual chairmen their suggestions for membership on their committees for the coming year. In view of the unfamiliarity of some of us with these various obligations, I feel that my staff acquitted itself reasonably well. At one time we concentrated on the task of getting out the annual program promptly—earlier than previous years, if possible. A number of corners were cut, and these procedures were successful in speeding up the dispatch of the program to the members well in advance of the meeting and giving members time to consider the report of the Committee on Nominations.

I am reporting elsewhere as Editor, but in this connection it might be well to mention that there were added duties arising from the fact that manuscripts, courteously returned to the authors with the request for re-

submission to me, came in in sufficient numbers to occupy editorial time. To counterbalance this, Mr. Schuyler had left the outline and possible material for the January issue well shaped up.

The present Executive Secretary does not feel that he has been in the office long enough to begin to make intelligent, instructive suggestions about the general good of the Association. He would, however, express his appreciation for the good wishes that have come to him in connection with his new responsibilities and the generous offers of help. There is distinct comfort in knowing that all the thinking about the good of the Association and its future is not supposed to be done by one man alone in a Washington office.

I have taken the opportunity to attend in November meetings of two affiliated groups. I attended the meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Atlanta on November 6-8, and it was very encouraging to see the interest displayed by the members of this association. The registration was something like two hundred, and the program was an excellent one. As a member of the Executive Council of the Council on the Social Studies I attended the meeting of that group in Indianapolis on November 21. It was, I believe, their first independent meeting, and the success was gratifying—something like eight hundred were registered. The local arrangements and program committees had done their work so well that everyone left enthusiastic about the innovation of an annual independent meeting.

One of the earliest and gravest problems was precipitated by the death on September 30 of our president for this year, Professor James Westfall Thompson. Proper tribute will be paid to him in the forthcoming issue of the *Review*. His death, however, posed for the Committee on Nominations and for this office a problem of procedure and constitutional interpretation. It will be recalled that after the death of President Woodrow Wilson in February of his presidential year the Association found that its constitution did not definitely define the status of the officers next in line. A constitutional amendment was adopted which said that the first vice-president became president immediately upon the death of the president. This brought Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, who had been acting in other ways for Mr. Thompson during his illness, immediately into the presidency. The Committee on Nominations, of course, desired to know whether they were to nominate a new first and second vice-president. And there was also the question of the presidential address. Professor Thompson's address had been finished some three or four months before his death and was in the process of being edited for the January issue. Professor Schlesinger would have no adequate time in which to prepare his address if he were to take the rostrum in December. Friends of Professor Thompson, and I believe the great mass of the membership of the Association, would not understand why we did not treat this as the year of his presidency, go forward with

the printing of the prepared address, and have it read in Chicago as the president's address. Therefore I felt justified in advising the Committee on Nominations to retain Professor Schlesinger's name at the head of their ticket and to nominate only a second vice-president. If anyone desired to cover this by the letter of the constitution, it could be called a re-election of Professor Schlesinger or an extension of his term by vote of the Association. Against this there is no constitutional prohibition. I did not take this position until I had polled the Executive Committee and received from them their approval of my position. In order that the record may be complete I will recall that the death of the president has happened once before since the constitutional amendment, but in that case the death of Professor Larson of the University of Illinois came in February. He had prepared no address, and his successor had ample time to meet the responsibilities thrown upon him.

The grave national emergency created by all-out effort on every front will leave no phase of our present lives or of the institutions with which we are connected, including this Association, untouched. Each and all will be eager to contribute to the program of defense and will acquit themselves as they did in the previous war with credit to the historical profession. Various agencies of the government have already summoned a considerable body of historians to Washington for service in the various fields of their specialities. This service will undoubtedly be extended to men who can render similar help in their specialities by remaining at their posts. Speaking in general from the standpoint of the Association, I feel that we should maintain the central core of our activities. Some modifications and readjustments may be inevitable and also desirable. The building, maintaining, and developing of a civilization is a complex matter, to which many elements, many groups, and much thoughtful effort must contribute. It seems to me that it is still a national service, even though a great war has put everything at stake, to forward learning in every field and especially in that dealing with history, and to carry on at our posts as earnestly and as thoughtfully and as calmly as is humanly possible.

Let me now proceed to summarize the activities of the Association during the last year in terms of the reports of its major committees and commissions:

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Up to September 1 of the current year the *Review* was edited by Robert Livingston Schuyler from the editorial offices at 535 West 114th Street, New York. Since that time the offices have been located with the central office in the Library of Congress Annex, Washington, D. C., and Guy Stanton Ford has been Editor. The total cost of editing the *Review* amounted to \$6,567.91. The net cost to the Association of printing the *Review*, after deducting the contribution of the publishers to editorial expenses and the Association's share of profits of publication,

amounted to \$3,541.36, an increase of \$171.18 over the cost of last year. This increase is due to the increased number of copies of the *Review* distributed because of increased membership in the Association. The loss on the sale of the ten-year index has been reduced by the sale during the year of nineteen copies at an aggregate price of \$31.48. The ten-year index is still short of paying for itself, although the actual editorial work on it was done in the offices of the *Review* without additional cost. It seems rather surprising that with over 3,500 members in the Association, all of them receiving the *Review*, less than 500 copies of the last ten-year index have so far been sold.

Volume XLVI of the *Review* (October, 1940-July, 1941) contained 1,064 pages, including an annual index of 42 pages, as compared with 1,056 pages in Volume XLV. The total number of Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents was 20, the same as in Volume XLV. Volume XLVI contains 290 reviews as against 256 in Volume XLV and 380 notices as against 516, a total of reviews and notices of 670 as compared with 772 in Volume XLV, which is a decrease of approximately 13.2 per cent. The total number of articles listed was 2,427 as against 2,479 in Volume XLV, a decrease of approximately 2.1 per cent. During the period September 1, 1940-August 15, 1941, 72 Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents were submitted. Of these 13 were accepted (the acceptances of 2 of these were later recalled), 21 rejected, 1 withdrawn, and 37 returned with a statement that they would be considered if resubmitted later. Twelve major articles were published, including the presidential address and an account of the annual meeting of the Association at New York. Of these (exclusive of the presidential address and the account of the meeting) 4 were in the field of European history (including 1 Ancient and 2 Medieval) and 6 in American. There were 4 Notes and Suggestions, 2 in European and 2 in American history. There were 3 documentary contributions, 1 in European and 3 in American history.

SOCIAL EDUCATION. The National Council for the Social Studies undertook over a year ago the responsibility for the publication of this periodical. This arrangement continues. I regret to report that the periodical is not as yet on a self-sustaining basis, and unless there is a considerable increase in support or a considerable reduction in the expenses of the periodical, the reserve fund from the Carnegie grant, controlled by this Association and allotted to them in fixed sums every year, will be exhausted, presumably at the end of three years. A number of measures have been taken by the editorial management to reduce the cost of the periodical in an attempt to reduce the deficit. It is an excellent periodical that serves well the constituency that it reaches. As the organ of the National Council it is, like the *Review*, the chief means of communication with its membership and the chief bond that holds them to their common interest in the teaching of the social studies in the schools.

ANNUAL REPORT. The following passages are quoted from the report of the chairman of the committee charged with the publication of the *Annual Report*:

The *Annual Report* for 1939, consisting of one volume of proceedings, has been published. The *Annual Report* for 1940, consisting of proceedings for that year, is in galley proof. Mayo's volume of instructions of the British Foreign Secretaries to their envoys in the United States, 1791-1812, forming Volume III of the *Annual Report* for 1936, is in page proof. The combined volume of *Writings on American History for 1937 and 1938*, forming Volume II of the *Annual Report* for 1937, is in the same stage of manufacture. Both works should be out early in the new calendar year.

As this committee is no longer responsible for the publication of *Writings*, far more money will be available for the publication of documentary material and the like than in many years. Approximately \$6,000 of the current allotment of printing credit at the Government Printing Office (\$10,620) has not yet been earmarked after due provision has been made for works in hand. This the committee proposes to employ as follows: (1) to publish proceedings for 1941 as soon as possible after the Chicago meeting, now that no wait until the beginning of a new fiscal year is necessary for financial reasons; (2) to publish a volume of Talleyrand's notes on European-American business relations, in translation, edited by Hans Huth and Wilma J. Pugh. Should any balance remain, it will be applied on the cost of some further volume, to be selected later.

WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY. During the past year arrangements have been completed by which this invaluable volume will be continued and supported from the funds of the Albert J. Beveridge Endowment. The Association's committee in charge of this fund will hereafter assume the task of seeing this volume through the press. The annual subsidy from the funds of the Association, a matter of \$600, is released for application in other needed places.

LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS. The List of Doctoral Dissertations and Research Projects was published as a supplement to the *Review*. Supposedly this was to cost neither the Association nor the *Review* anything but be carried by the advertising secured by the Macmillan Company and the sale of extra copies. Apparently this income did not meet the expenses, and the deficit was charged against the profits of the *Review*, thus diminishing by some two hundred dollars or more the amount received from the Macmillan Company. The call has gone out for a new edition of this useful pamphlet. The Executive Committee has discussed arrangements for its publication and has authorized the Executive Secretary to seek less expensive methods of printing and distribution. I have it in mind when the material is in order to make inquiries about multilithing and, instead of sending out copies broadcast, to confine the free distribution chiefly to university departments and libraries and to sell it at a nominal price to others desiring it. It will be recalled that the Executive Committee at a session in March, 1941, set up a

fee of fifty cents for every entry in the Ph.D. list. This fee was announced in the July issue of the *Review*. At its meeting in November the Executive Committee reconsidered this action and rescinded it. The difficulty of the collection appeared insuperable, and furthermore it was considered reasonable for the Association to contribute something to the necessary expense of this and to find that money from the income of the Jameson Fund and in the future from some of the monies released by the cessation of the subsidy to the *Writings on American History*.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FUND PUBLICATIONS. The continuation of the series of monographs on American history and the continuation of the bibliographical series, *Writings on American History*, have been the two major programs of the committee. The latter was formerly the responsibility of a separate committee. Two manuscripts previously accepted, H. C. Perkins's *Northern Editorials on Secession* and Mrs. C. H. Kirby's biography of *George Keith*, have gone to press and are now in galleys. The former completes the documentary series, and the latter is the first of the monographs. Royalties have been relatively small; however, Phillips's *The Course of the South to Secession* brought this sum up to \$538.67. Two new manuscripts were submitted and carefully considered. The small number of monographs submitted revealed the necessity for further publicity. *Writings on American History* will in the future relate to all areas listed under "English-speaking America" or "The U.S. and its Possessions". The 1936 volume appeared recently. A double volume for 1937-38 has been in galley proof since spring but will probably be delayed in the U. S. Printing Office. It is hoped that a double volume covering 1939-40 will be in manuscript by the end of 1942 and will then be placed with a private publisher to speed up publication and eventually reduce the interval between the year covered and the date of issue to one year. It is anticipated that the committee will have at its disposal for the fiscal year 1941-42 approximately \$16,500. This fund will pay the editorial expenses on volumes in press and on any manuscripts accepted in ensuing months, committee expenses, costs of publication of new volumes during the fiscal year, and editorial expenses on the 1939-40 volume of *Writings*. It is hoped that royalties from the sales of *Writings* will eventually meet the editorial and publication costs; if they do not, however, it will be necessary for the committee either to use accumulated income or seriously curtail its monograph program or support of *Writings*.

LITTLETON-GRISWOLD FUND PUBLICATIONS. The committee has entered into a new printing contract with the Vail-Ballou Press, Inc., of New York. The first Connecticut volume is ready for publication; the first New Jersey volume is in corrected page proof; the Rhode Island volume is far advanced; active work is being done on the second Connecticut volume, the Pennsylvania and Delaware volumes, and the Accomac County, Virginia, volume; work has been delayed on the North and South Carolina volumes. The

committee hopes that as fast as the nine volumes now under way (for the titles of these volumes see the report of the Executive Secretary for 1939, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 739) are published, work can be initiated on other manuscripts. In order to maintain a publication program of one volume annually it is necessary to have additional funds to take care of expenses such as honoraria to editors, competent assistants, traveling expenses; if such funds were obtained, the entire income from the Littleton-Griswold Fund could be used for publication and the program expedited.

CARNEGIE REVOLVING FUND PUBLICATIONS. The Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund has accepted Luther P. Jackson's *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860* and Grace Lee Nute's *Radisson and Groseilliers* out of the eleven manuscripts submitted and examined, but as yet neither manuscript has gone to press. The Advisory Council of the American Council of Learned Societies gave financial assistance in the publication of Helen A. Stafford's *James VI of Scotland and the Throne of England*. The chairman of the committee reports: "Thanks in part to such subsidies as these and in part to the excellent sales record of the last four books we have published, the financial statement of the Fund we administer shows a considerable increase in the past year." Royalties during the fiscal year amounted to \$1,519.56. The Fund shows a balance standing to its credit of \$8,935.04. It began with \$25,000. Twenty-four volumes have been published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN TRAVEL. All activities in the preparation of this volume practically ceased a number of years ago. The excellent committee could only make plans, but without funds they could do nothing. They became discouraged and practically gave up the task a year ago. The matter was referred to the Executive Committee. I was able to report to the Executive Committee at its recent meeting that I had high hopes that the Historical Records Survey would take over the completion of this work as one of their projects. A final report as to this desirable possibility is pending.

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIALS. The Committee on Historical Source Materials, which last year presented an elaborate report, has not sent in its report at this writing. This is due to the fact that its chairman, Professor Herbert Kellar, is engaged in emergency service with the Library of Congress and in connection with this has been absent on a long trip to the South, Middle West, and Far West.

COMMITTEE ON AMERICANA FOR COLLEGE LIBRARIES. Sixteen libraries are participating in this Plan, every one of them contributing \$500 to match \$500 contributed by the committee. In general, operations of the Plan follow those outlined in previous reports. The chairman says regarding the book appropriation: "there is an important change. In place of the annual grant of \$8,000, the Trustees of the Fund granted only \$2,000 for the purchase of books, or shall we say, for credits to the colleges. This deficiency of \$6,000

will be made up by utilizing the books in our reserve stock, or money derived from the sales thereof." This reserve stock is made up of all the books left by the late Tracy W. McGregor, in addition to the grants of money necessary for the enterprise established and fostered in its beginning by him and now taken over by the American Historical Association. During the last fiscal year 855 titles were distributed to participating colleges.

COMMITTEE ON RADIO. The report of the Radio Committee for the year 1941 differs from that of last year in one respect—there was no interruption in the program during the summer months. Because of the international situation the National Broadcasting Company asked the Radio Committee if it would continue "The Story behind the Headlines" throughout the summer. (In previous years the program has been limited to the academic year.) The financial arrangement has remained unchanged, *i.e.*, the N.B.C. has paid two thirds of the cost of making up the program, the A.H.A. the other third. Expenses have been kept as low as possible in order to prolong the continuance of the program.

The committee records with gratification that it was able to continue "The Story behind the Headlines" through the summer. This was desired by the N.B.C. radio committee. The procedures in preparing the material and putting it upon the air are those that worked out so well in the previous year.

The efforts of this committee are supported by the generosity of the Keith Fund and by the unflagging efforts of those members of the Association who form the committee. Chief credit should be given to Dr. Conyers Read, the chairman, for his unflagging interest and untiring efforts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY, 1714-1789. Mr. Pargellis, who assumed responsibility for the manuscript sent from England, has labored now for some four years on this material. While he has had the assistance of a few specialists, most of the burden has fallen on his own shoulders. The work of revision has proved to be a perfectly enormous task. He had concluded that, in view of the fact that a number of bibliographies in this field have appeared since the British plan and material were shaped up, it would be unwise to attempt the same coverage that was outlined in the original plan. He is now in correspondence with the Royal Historical Society, to which he has submitted some proposals as to a feasible and defensible re-organization of the whole plan.

PRIZES OFFERED BY THE ASSOCIATION. The George Louis Beer Prize is to be awarded this year to Arthur J. Marder for his book *The Anatomy of British Sea Power* (Knopf, 1940). The committee report that they had extremely few works submitted for examination.

The Beveridge Memorial Prize Committee actively circularized graduate schools and university presses and journals in an attempt to secure suggestions of material suitable to be considered for the prize. They have had 43 entries, of which 36 were books, 5 manuscripts, and 2 offprints of journal

articles. The chairman, Professor Hutchinson, reported that their decision as to the award would be ready by the time of the annual meeting. The award was made to Charles A. Barker for his book *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (Yale University Press, 1940).

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE. Although the report of this committee does not sum up any great increase to the membership of the Association, it may be said, I think, that they have been very intelligent and persistent in their efforts. Largely as a result of this, although the increase may be small, it represents a considerable number of new members who offset the inevitable loss from death and withdrawal. The membership figures at present are: The gross gain for the year ending December 1, 1941, was 283, as compared with 275 last year and 352 the year before that. The net gain was 42, as compared with 40 last year and 108 the year before that. The year's increase in membership was chiefly in the following states: New York (62), District of Columbia (28), Pennsylvania (21), Illinois (20), Massachusetts (15), New Jersey (13), Ohio (11), Michigan (10). In no one of the other states were there more than ten new members added, with no new members at all in nine states. It will be noted that except for Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio the large gains in state memberships are all along the Atlantic Seaboard. In total membership by states, New York has an easy lead with 563, Massachusetts is second (288), Pennsylvania third (265), Illinois fourth (250), District of Columbia fifth (222), and California sixth (209). In proportion to total population the District of Columbia makes easily the best showing. Out of a total membership of about 3,600, approximately 2,100 are east of the Alleghenies, 1,100 between the Alleghenies and the Rockies, and 321 on the Pacific Coast. The Atlantic Seaboard region between New York and the District of Columbia, inclusive, contains nearly one third of the total membership.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*.

THE OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1942

President: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University.

First Vice-President: Nellie Neilson, Mount Holyoke College.

Second Vice-President: William L. Westermann, Columbia University.

Executive Secretary: Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington, D. C.

Treasurer: Solon J. Buck, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer: Patty W. Washington, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington, D. C.

Editor of the Association: Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington, D. C.

Council: (ex officio) the president, vice-presidents, executive secretary and managing editor of the *American Historical Review*, and treasurer;

(former presidents) Albert Bushnell Hart, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Edward P. Cheyney, Charles M. Andrews, Evarts B. Greene, Carl Becker, Herbert E. Bolton, Charles A. Beard, Michael I. Rostøvtzeff, Charles H. McIlwain, Guy Stanton Ford, Frederic L. Paxson, William Scott Ferguson, Max Farrand; (elected members) Robert J. Kerner, Allan Nevins, Merle Curti, Louis R. Gottschalk, Benjamin B. Kendrick, Raymond J. Sontag, Arthur S. Aiton, Carl Stephenson.

Executive Committee of the Council: Merle E. Curti, Teachers College, Columbia University, chairman; Benjamin B. Kendrick, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Carl Stephenson; (ex officio) Solon J. Buck, Guy Stanton Ford.

Committee on Committees: Louis R. Gottschalk, University of Chicago, chairman; Robert J. Kerner; (ex officio) Guy Stanton Ford.

Board of Trustees: Shepard Morgan, Chase National Bank, New York City, chairman; W. Randolph Burgess, Leon Fraser, Stanton Griffis, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Standing Committee on Government Publications: Jeannette Nichols, 438 Riverview Road, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, chairman; Hunter D. Farish, Richard J. Purcell.

The Pacific Coast Branch: President, Frederic L. Paxson, University of California, Berkeley; Vice-President, Andrew Fish, University of Oregon; Secretary-Treasurer, Hardin Craig, jr., California Institute of Technology; *Council*, the above officers and Reginald F. Arragon, John W. Caughey, George H. Knoles, Waldemar Westergaard; Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*, Louis K. Koontz.

Committee on Program for the Fifty-seventh Annual Meeting: Stanley Pargellis, Yale University, chairman.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Elmer L. Kayser, George Washington University, chairman.

Committee on Nominations: Ella Lonn, Goucher College, chairman; Thomas A. Bailey, Sidney Packard, Howard Robinson, Walter P. Webb.

The American Historical Review: Managing Editor, Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington, D. C.; Assistant Editor, Florence Miller; Board of Editors, A. C. Krey, M. L. W. Laistner, William L. Langer, William E. Lunt, Dexter Perkins, J. G. Randall.

Social Education: Editor, Erling M. Hunt, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University; Executive Board, Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University (chairman), Guy Stanton Ford, Howard R. Anderson, Erling M. Hunt, Preston E. James, Mary G. Kelty, Harold M. Long, Bessie L. Pierce, Ethel M. Ray, Edgar B. Wesley.

Committee on Membership: Referred to the Executive Committee.

Committees on Prizes: *John H. Dunning Prize*, Paul H. Buck, Harvard

University, chairman; Charles A. Barker, Philip Davidson, jr. *George Louis Beer Prize*, Troyer Anderson, Swarthmore College, chairman; H. N. Howard, W. C. Langsam. *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize*, Lewis G. Vander Velde, University of Michigan, chairman; Richard O. Cummings, Constance Green. *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize*, W. K. Jordan, University of Chicago, chairman; C. W. de Kiewiet, V. J. Puryear.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: Sidney R. Packard, Smith College, chairman; Ray A. Billington, Thomas A. Brady, W. S. Holt, Caroline Robbins, Raymond P. Stearns.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund: Richard H. Shryock, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Julius W. Pratt, Laura A. White.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund: Francis S. Philbrick, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carroll T. Bond, John Dickinson, L. A. Harper, Mark D. Howe, Leonard W. Labaree, Richard B. Morris.

Committee on Historical Source Materials: Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association, chairman. *Subcommittees*: *Archives*, Emmett J. Leahy, Navy Department, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Sargent B. Child, Edwin A. Davis, Charles M. Gates, Margaret C. Norton. *Manuscripts*, Wendell H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University, chairman; John C. L. Andreassen, Theodore C. Blegen, Lester J. Cappon, Roger Shugg, St. George L. Sioussat. *Newspapers*, Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga, chairman; Adeline Barry, E. Malcolm Carroll, Allan Nevins, Edgar E. Robinson. *Business Records*, Ralph M. Hower, Harvard University, chairman; Lewis Atherton, Thomas D. Clark, Oliver M. Dickerson, Oliver W. Holmes, William D. Overman. *Library Holdings*, Douglas C. McMurtrie, Evanston, Illinois, chairman; James A. Barnes, Gilbert H. Doane, Luther H. Evans, A. F. Kuhlman, George A. Schwegmann, jr. *Preservation and Restoration of Historical Objects*, Ronald Lee, National Park Service, U. S. Department of Interior, chairman; Russell H. Anderson, C. C. Crittenden, Hunter D. Farish, Lucile Kellar. *British Sessional Papers*, Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; C. W. de Kiewiet, Milton R. Gutsch, Frank J. Klingberg, Warner F. Woodring. *Research Associate*, Everett E. Edwards, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Committee on Publication of the Annual Report: Lowell J. Ragatz, George Washington University, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Louis C. Hunter, St. George L. Sioussat; (ex officio) Guy Stanton Ford.

Committee on Bibliography of American Travel: Referred to the Executive Committee.

Committee on Radio: Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Phillips Bradley, Stephen Duggan, John A. Krout, Walter C. Langsam,

Shepard Morgan, Stanley Pargellis, Charles G. Proffitt, Evelyn Plummer Read, Ralph S. Rounds, César Saerchinger, Elizabeth Y. Webb.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries: Randolph G. Adams, William L. Clements Library, chairman; Kathryn L. Slagle, secretary; Arthur S. Aiton, Julian Parks Boyd, Conyers Read, Thomas W. Streeter, Lawrence C. Wroth.

Representatives of the Association in Allied Bodies: *American Council of Learned Societies*, William Scott Ferguson, Wallace Notestein. *International Committee of Historical Sciences*, Waldo G. Leland, James T. Shotwell. *Social Science Research Council*, Merle E. Curti, Roy F. Nichols, Arthur M. Schlesinger.

Official Representative upon the National Parks Association Board: B. Floyd Flickinger, Beargarden Farm, Star Route, Hanover, Virginia.

The committee appointed to award the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize for 1942 desires to call attention to the terms of the award. This prize, which bears no stipend, is awarded biennially in the even-numbered years for a monograph, manuscript or in print, in the field of European history. The committee will be able to take into its consideration all works published prior to June 1, 1942. It will likewise be happy to consider all manuscript works submitted to the chairman, Professor W. K. Jordan of the University of Chicago, prior to June 1, 1942. The terms of the competition, as defined by the American Historical Association, follow:

In awarding these prizes, the committee in charge will consider not only research accuracy and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and general excellence of style. These prizes are designed particularly to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work nor obtained an established reputation.

All works submitted in competition for these prizes must be in the hands of the prize committee on or before June 1st of the year in which the award is made. The date of publication of printed monographs submitted in competition must fall within a period of two and one-half years prior to June 1st of the year in which the prize is awarded.

The attention of the members of the American Historical Association and of historical students in general is called to the support given by the Albert J. Beveridge Fund toward the possible publication of material relating to the history of the United States with special preference given to the period from 1800 to 1865. The fund is a memorial to the late Senator Beveridge by his wife, Catherine Beveridge, and a large group of friends in Indiana. The subvention toward printing of accepted manuscripts is the income from the principal fund of about \$100,000. In general, manuscripts should not exceed eighty thousand words. Inquiries and manuscripts should be directed to Professor Richard H. Shryock, Chairman of the Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund, 208 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The attention of investigators using the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress is directed to the following notice:

WARTIME USE OF THE COLLECTIONS IN THE DIVISION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The measures which have already been taken, and which are still in process, for assuring the safety of the collections of the Division of Manuscripts, will necessarily involve a readjustment of services which can be rendered to investigators.

For the present, therefore, it will be necessary to restrict to some extent the reference work performed in connection with replies to inquiries by mail. Persons intending to institute investigations in the collections of the Division are also requested, before making final plans or coming to Washington, to ascertain the specific conditions affecting the materials which they will need to use.

Investigators will be interested to know, also, that the long-planned removal of the Division of Manuscripts to new quarters in the Annex is nearing completion.

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: photostats of two letters of George Washington, May, 1776, and May 10, 1782; 123 papers of Andrew Jackson, Andrew Jackson Donelson, Emily Donelson, and others, and copy of a letter from Andrew Jackson to Colonel R. E. W. Earle, 1779 to 1837; nine boxes of carbon copies of typewritten transcripts of records of counties of Tennessee, 1791 to 1854; Pali manuscript of the eighteenth century pertaining to medicine; fifty-one papers of the French Royalist family Grand de Fontepaisse, including correspondence of Mlle. Uranie Grand de Fontepaisse and legal documents of the eighteenth century; two volumes and two loose pieces, papers of Caleb Cushing, 1800 to 1843 (including eighty-four drawings of South America, Europe, and Asia, 1843, by George R. West, draftsman to the United States legation in China); microfilm of calendar of archives of Matamoras, Mexico, pertaining to the history of Texas and New Mexico, 1811 to 1859; twenty-seven papers of Alexander Graydon (American author, captain during the Revolution), 1812 to 1817 and undated (mainly letters from Graydon to Nicholas Biddle); twenty letters from Job Durfee (representative from Rhode Island) to his wife, Judith Durfee, written while he was in Congress, 1821 to 1824; thirty-one papers of Peter Force (mainly letters received), 1823 to 1866; four volumes of the logbook of the *Thames*, a whaling vessel, on voyages from Sag Harbor, New York, to the coast of Patagonia and Pernambuco, Brazil, 1828 to 1832; letter from Martha Brandon Osgood Genêt (second wife of Edmond Charles Genêt) to William Talmage, December 9, 1835; four microfilm rolls of papers of Jabez L. M. Curry in the Alabama State Archives, 1838 to 1906; eight letters from Edwin M.

Stanton to John Sanders, 1843 to June 28, 1850; fifty-nine papers of Hannah Whitman Heyde and Mrs. Louisa Van Velsor Whitman (sister and mother, respectively, of Walt Whitman), undated, but *ca.* 1853 to 1873; eight boxes of papers of Constance Cary Harrison (Mrs. Burton N. Harrison), including papers of Burton N. Harrison and Francis Burton Harrison, their son, 1855 to 1921 and undated; one volume of correspondence of John Cresson Trautwine while he was chief engineer for the Honduras Inter-oceanic Railway Company, Limited, 1857 to 1859; one box of typewritten copies of papers of Howard Malcolm Smith (Union soldier, later in the coal business in New York State), August 12, 1852, to September 19, 1865; microfilm of 111 pages of letters from David Coon (Union soldier) to his wife and children, February 28 to August 27, 1864; six papers pertaining to the capture of Jefferson Davis, his disguise, etc., August 21, 1865, to May 18, 1889, and undated; letter from James Abram Garfield to Frederic Vinton, March 18, 1872; one volume of the Journal of Francis Vinton (believed to be a son of Francis Vinton, rector of Trinity Church, New York), covering a trip to Japan and China, 1876 (illustrated with photographs and pictures); one box of papers (clippings, portrait, notes, catalogue cards, and letters) of, and relating to, Henry James, 1876 to 1921 and undated; letter from Montgomery Blair to — Shaw, January 7, 1878; photostats of seven letters of Rutherford B. Hayes and Henry Ward Beecher, 1879 to 1889; microfilm of extracts from the Providence Journal, January 11, 19, and November 12, 1889, and letters of Charles M. Andrews to his mother, May 7, 1888, and March 25, 1889, concerning Woodrow Wilson; typewritten copy of a poem, "To Corinna", by Oliver Wendell Holmes, undated, followed by an account by Herbert Putnam of the circumstances connected with the poem and its discovery; thirteen volumes of typewritten copies of the diary of Alcides Arguedas (ambassador from Bolivia to Venezuela), including an index, January 1, 1900, to December 31, 1940 (restricted); letter from John Sharp Williams to Frank Roberson, March 8, 1924, enclosing a clipping from the Jackson, Mississippi, *Daily News*, February 19, 1924, containing a speech of Williams relating to Woodrow Wilson; one volume, prepared by Duval T. McCutchen, of photostats of letters and clippings pertaining to the National Youth Administration, 1932 to 1935.

The National Archives has recently been reorganized so that the professional archival work is planned, co-ordinated, and reviewed by three new officers: a director of records accessioning and preservation (Marcus W. Price, formerly assistant director of archival service); a director of research and records description (Oliver W. Holmes, formerly chief of the Division of Interior Department Archives); and a director of reference service (Philip M. Hamer, formerly chief of the Division of Reference). The positions of director and assistant director of archival service and of director of research and publications and the Division of Reference have been discon-

tinued. Dorsey W. Hyde, jr., formerly director of archival service, has been appointed as special assistant to the Archivist; Herbert E. Angel, as assistant to the Archivist and acting chief of a new Division of Information and Publications; Philip C. Brooks, as assistant director of records accessioning and preservation; Herman Kahn, as chief of the Division of Interior Department Archives; and Daniel F. Noll, formerly microfilm consultant on War Department records for the Work Projects Administration, as associate microfilm technologist. Roscoe R. Hill and Arthur E. Young have been loaned to the Department of State and Robert H. Bahmer to the Navy Department to assist in dealing with records problems in those agencies. Almon R. Wright is serving as acting chief of the Division of State Department Archives in the absence of Dr. Hill. A file of some 250,000 photographic reproductions of views, sketches, portraits, maps, broadsides, posters, and other documents relating to military affairs and other phases of American history has recently been transferred to the National Archives by the Historical Section of the Army War College. Material relating to the first World War, including photographs taken by the Signal Corps and prints obtained from other government agencies, from private sources, and from the British, French, Belgian, German, and other governments, constitutes over a third of the file. A Handbook of Federal World War Agencies, 1914-20, which will contain information concerning the organization, activities, and records of about 3,500 units of the government that participated in defense, wartime, or postwar activities, is being compiled by the National Archives. A *List of Federal World War Agencies, 1914-20* (pp. 43) has been compiled as a preliminary step in this undertaking, and copies of it may be obtained from the Division of Information and Publications of the National Archives. Reproductions of a letter book of the Creek Trading House, 1795-1816 (1 vol.), confidential and unofficial letters sent by the office of the Secretary of War, 1814-47 (2 vols.), letters concerning military affairs sent by the same office, 1830-36 (4 vols.), and letters sent by the Washington Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1867-72 (2 vols.) are recent additions to the file microcopies of the National Archives. Positive prints of these reproductions are available at cost to interested institutions and individuals.

Papers recently transferred to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library by the President include letters, memoirs, and diaries of various officers of the United States Navy, 1775-1898; Mr. Roosevelt's diplomas and certificates of membership in various organizations, 1905-41; copies of letters, reports, and memoranda received by the office of the Secretary of the Navy from naval units and bureaus, 1913-20; and copies of the official stenographic reports of the President's press conferences, January-June, 1941. Material recently acquired relating to the history of Dutchess County, New York, includes correspondence and other papers of the DePeyster family, 1697-1865, and diaries, notebooks, and birdbanding records kept by Maunsell S. Crosby of

Rhinebeck, New York, 1909-31. The *Second Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States as to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library* (pp. 19), recently published, describes the activities of the library during the fiscal year 1940-41 and includes a descriptive list of material deposited in the library by the President or acquired by it from other sources to June 30, 1941. Copies of the *Report* may be obtained from the Division of Information and Publications of the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

By a series of happy accidents the Darlington Collection of the University of Pittsburgh has been enriched by the addition of a considerable body of the lost papers of the Ohio Company. They include letters, minutes of meetings, field notes, etc. About three fourths of these have never been published.

According to the fourteenth annual report of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, the collections of English literature and history, especially of the English Renaissance, attracted the greatest number of readers, and the collection of Californiana was second in the interest shown by scholars. Six thousand accessions were received, more than half being donated. An important acquisition was the large Merrymount Press collection assembled by Dr. Max Farrand, the retiring director, which was deposited in the library during the year. The library published four books during the year. It ordered many reproductions of original documents, seven tenths of which were reproduced by microfilm.

The New York Public Library has for years had a collection of caricatures, mainly political, issued separately in the United States. While the collection is not yet so large as that owned by the American Society of Antiquaries, it has now been given greater possibilities of usefulness than it had before. The prints have been arranged in chronological order, the cartoons under each year numbered in order, and each one catalogued in full detail. Furthermore, each of the prints has been indexed by subject. That means not only the general subject, such as, say, Lincoln, or Cass, or any of the numerous other political lights dealt with, but also matters incidentally touched on. To the student of, and writer on, the political and social history of the United States, there is obviously material here.

An interesting contribution to the history of public opinion among the foreign born and Negroes in Cleveland is furnished by monthly mimeographed digests of news and editorials in the language press of these groups. These digests have been issued monthly in 1941 by District 4, Work Projects Administration, Cleveland, Ohio.

The Minnesota Historical Society held its ninety-third annual meeting in St. Paul and Minneapolis on January 12. As for the past twenty-one years

the papers in the several sessions were devoted to local history work in Minnesota. The development of local and county historical societies and museums is due largely to the initiative and interest of two past superintendents, Dr. Solon J. Buck, now Archivist of the United States, and Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, now professor of history and dean of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota. Dr. Blegen delivered the annual address on "The Minnesota Historical Society and University Research". Professor Lester B. Shippee is president of the society.

The midwinter meeting of the American Philosophical Society, February 13-14, was devoted to "The Early History of Science and Learning in America, with Especial Reference to the Work of the Society during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries". Sixteen papers prepared by distinguished scientists dealt with the history of their branches of science in these centuries. A number of them were biographical. There were no papers by historians giving the social background necessary to the explanation of the rise of scientific interest in the United States.

The first step has been taken toward the preparation of the official history of the war. The British government has appointed a committee to advise on the general plan of this work. The constitution of this body is almost wholly academic. Its chairman is the head of St. John's College, Cambridge, E. A. Benians, and it includes six university professors—G. M. Trevelyan, F. M. Powicke, G. N. Clark, R. H. Tawney, J. D. Mackie, and E. H. Carr. The other members are H. B. Butler (warden of Nuffield College, Oxford), J. P. R. Maud (master of Birkbeck College, London), and C. T. Flower (deputy keeper at the Public Record Office). No expert in military history or military affairs finds a place on this committee. The press also states that an editorial board under the chairmanship of the president of the board of education has been set up to direct the compilation of the medical history of the war. Sir Arthur MacNalty, until recently chief medical officer of the ministry of health, will serve as editor in chief, and the members of the board will include representatives of the Admiralty, the war office, the air ministry, the ministry of health, the department of health for Scotland, the medical research council, and the war cabinet secretariat.

The American Library Association has created a Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, headed by John R. Russell, the librarian of the University of Rochester. This committee is seeking to assure at the end of the war a supply of American scholarly scientific and technical periodicals sufficient to fill the gaps in the files of foreign institutions and scholars. The committee hopes that American scholars will not, through indifference or a desire to help out on the paper shortage, allow copies of this type of periodical not wanted by them to be dissipated or destroyed. The situation following the first World War presented difficulties in filling broken files

that the American Library Association hopes to avoid through the publicity given the existence of this committee.

L'École Libre des Hautes Études was opened officially at a gathering held in the auditorium of Hunter College in New York City on Saturday evening, February 14. Several thousand friends of this new Franco-Belgian university assembled to hear speeches by distinguished members of the newly created faculties. Courses in the university began on February 16 and include both public lectures and graduate courses and seminar work. Historians will note especially the section on history (in the Faculty of Letters), in which courses are given by Professors Henri Grégoire, Gilbert Chinard, Pierre Brodin, Americo Castro, Jean Seznec, and Fred G. Hoffherr. The Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves will also form a part of the new school. Here courses and lectures, especially on Byzantine history, will be given by Professors Grégoire, P. Charanis, George Vernadsky, and others. The new institution is affiliated with the New School for Social Research directed by Dr. Alvin Johnson.

PERSONAL

On November 18 Charles Edward Chapman, professor of Hispanic American and California history in the University of California, died at Peralta Hospital in Oakland, aged sixty-one years. With his passing the historical profession lost one of its most distinguished and colorful personalities and the University of California one of its most notable scholars and teachers. Born in New Hampshire in 1880, Mr. Chapman studied two years in Princeton, received the A.B. degree from Tufts College in 1902, the LL.B. from Harvard in 1905, and was admitted to the bar in both Massachusetts and California in 1906. After practicing law for a year in California he taught history in Riverside High School and was assistant in history in the University of California (1910-12). As a Native Sons Traveling Fellow he was engaged for two years in research in the archives of Spain (1912-14), studying meanwhile in the University of Seville. Returning to Berkeley as instructor in history (1914), he received the Ph.D. there in 1915, became assistant professor later in the same year, associate professor in 1919, and professor in 1927. In 1920-21 he was exchange professor in the University of Chile at Santiago. Dr. Chapman's work in Spain and South America bore prolific and significant fruit. In steady succession he published scholarly and important works in Hispanic and Hispanic American history, in which field he was an outstanding scholar, with a wide reputation in this country and abroad. The list of his books is most impressive: *The Founding of Spanish California* (1916); *A History of Spain* (1918); *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest* (1919); *A History of Cali-*

fornia: *The Spanish Period* (1921); *A History of the Cuban Republic* (1927); *Colonial Hispanic America: A History* (1933); *Republican Hispanic America: A History* (1937). An account of one of his years abroad is told in his little book entitled *A Californian in South America* (1917). Besides these volumes he wrote many historical articles and monographs and contributed extensively to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. For several years he had been assembling materials preparatory to the writing of a comprehensive biography of Melgarejo, president of Bolivia in the mid-nineteenth century, but he left the work unfinished. Among Professor Chapman's academic honors was the Mitre Medal of the Hispanic Society of America, awarded for his distinguished achievements in the field of Hispanic American studies. He played a leading part in the founding of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, which has become the outstanding magazine in its field, and was on its editorial board continuously from its beginning in 1917 until his death. Dr. Chapman was a man of widely diverse interests and of many talents. He traveled extensively in Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, and South America. A proficient athlete, he played baseball on the college teams at Princeton and Tufts and later on professional teams. He was Pacific Coast scout for the St. Louis National Baseball Club (1921-32) and for the Cincinnati Club (1932-41). It was an injury to his arm incurred while playing ball in Japan that caused him to take up academic life. His last book, entitled *Play Ball*, published just before his death by Harper and Brothers, is an interesting treatise on the great American game. Like all his writings it reveals his astonishing accuracy and grasp of details as well as of principles. In his day he was tennis champion at the University of California, and he held high rank among amateurs in golf and bridge. No mere "desiccated academe" was he. By reason of these varied interests and achievements Dr. Chapman was much better known to the general public than most men of academic pursuits, and his death was reported in the press as a misfortune of nation-wide significance. A forceful and inspiring teacher of both undergraduates and graduates, his students prized him for his varied human interests and for his unusual personal qualities, as well as for his solid merits as scholar and writer. He was modest and retiring and much loved by those who knew him best.

Luis Galdames, a leading educator and historian of Chile, died in Santiago on November 20 at the age of sixty. Best known at home and abroad for his *Estudio de la historia de Chile*, which first appeared in 1906 and passed through eight local editions before being published in an English translation during the past year, Señor Galdames early produced a brief study of the administration of Manuel Montt and in 1926 brought out the first volume of *La evolución constitucional de Chile*, a monumental work that subsequent routine duties left him no time to finish. For more than forty years as teacher and administrator he exerted a deep influence on the

educational development of his country, through his textbooks in history and geography, his sketches and longer biographies of prominent Chilean educators, his comprehensive reports on educational reforms, and his inspiring work in classroom, the press, and public address. Few men have been so privileged to influence the cultural life of their generation as was Galdames in Chile.

Professor John Oluf Evjen, well-known church historian and at the time of his death professor of the philosophy of history and dean at Carthage College, Illinois, died on January 4. Dr. Evjen did his undergraduate work in Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, and took his doctor's degree at Leipzig in 1903. He taught in Lutheran colleges in St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Gettysburg and from 1919 to 1923 was president of a state normal school in North Dakota. Despite teaching and administrative duties he produced numerous books and articles on church history, especially in the age of Luther. They appeared in German, Danish, and English publications.

Dr. George Emery Fellows died at Great Neck, Long Island, on January 14 at the age of eighty-three. A graduate of Lawrence College, he took his doctor's degree at the University of Berne. He taught in the history departments of Indiana University and the University of Chicago. He was president of the University of Maine from 1902 to 1911 and head of the department of history and political science at the University of Utah from 1915 until his retirement in 1935. He was a contributor on historical subjects to various encyclopedias and the author of a brief text on *Recent European History*.

Henry Wells Lawrence, professor of history and government at Connecticut College, New London, died on January 23. Born on December 2, 1879, in Nyack, New York, he received his college training at Yale, from which he was graduated in 1906 and from which he received his doctorate in 1910, following a year's study at the University of Paris. He held academic posts at the University of Vermont, Dartmouth College, and Middlebury College before beginning his work at Connecticut College in 1920. For many years he taught summer sessions at Hampton Institute. His special field was American history, and his interpretations of it and of the current scene appeared in many syndicated articles and in his book, *The Not-Quite Puritans: Some Genial Follies and Peculiar Frailties of our Revered New England Ancestors*.

Driven by the Nazis from the Austria in which he was born, the distinguished writer, Stefan Zweig, became a man without a country, though welcomed as an exile in England, the United States, and Brazil. It was in this last refuge that he ended his wanderings on February 23. He and Madame Zweig committed suicide by taking poison. Though outwardly

happy in the new home, Zweig was too deeply shaken by world events, of which he no longer spoke, and by a profound nostalgia for a past gone forever, to face an ever-foreboding future. Stefan Zweig was born in Vienna on November 28, 1881. In youth he had every advantage of education and travel until the World War laid low the Vienna of song and wine and laughter in the ruins of the Habsburg Empire. Zweig removed to Salzburg and began a serious literary career. A facile pen and great skill in *haute vulgarisation* enabled him to turn out many volumes of widely read biographies. He was one of the most widely translated of contemporary writers. His best-known titles are *Marie Antoinette*, *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, *Joseph Fouché*, and *Mary Queen of Scotland and the Isles*. His last book, on Amerigo Vespucci, was published the day before his death. If the autobiography he left in manuscript gives us a picture of the freedom and culture of the old Vienna, of the strivings of an artist for sanity and concentration in a world under fear of war, "in the midst of a moral earthquake", to use his own words, it could easily be a more valuable document for historians than all else he wrote.

Professor Percy Alvin Martin of Stanford University died on March 8. A more extended notice will appear in the July issue.

A well-deserved tribute was paid to Mr. Waldo Gifford Leland, the director of the American Council of Learned Societies, by executive officers of the member societies in preparing and presenting to him a volume of essays at their annual meeting in Philadelphia on January 30. The range of the essays included in the volume is a heartening evidence of the virility of humanistic studies in America as well as evidence of the breadth and effectiveness of Mr. Leland's work in encouraging and supporting them. Mr. Leland was long associated with the late J. Franklin Jameson in the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution and in the work of the American Historical Association. He was first president of the Society of American Archivists and is now president of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. His associates in the historical field may well take special satisfaction in this tribute to one who has been a fellow worker for forty years. The volume, a fine example of good bookmaking, was published in a limited edition, of which a few copies are available for sale by Professor Percy W. Long, New York University, Washington Square East, New York City. It bears the title *Studies in the History of Culture: The Disciplines of the Humanities*.

Professor Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker of Princeton University was appointed to fill the Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History at New York University for 1942. Professor Wertenbaker presented a

series of six lectures during March on the general subject, "The Golden Age of Colonial Culture".

Clyde Leclare Grose, chairman of the history department at Northwestern University, has been appointed William Smith Mason Professor of History.

At Queens College, New York, Professor Henry David has resigned as chairman of the department of history and is taking partial leave to direct the research department of the North American division of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Professor John Perry Pritchett is the new chairman of the department.

Oscar G. Darlington has been promoted to the rank of professor at Hofstra College (Hempstead, Long Island), where he is chairman of the history department.

Professor Charles E. Nowell of Fresno State College, Fresno, California, is visiting assistant professor of Latin-American history at the University of Illinois for the current semester.

Richard Cummings is on leave from the University of California at Los Angeles to work with the Nutrition Division, Office of Emergency Management, in Washington.

The following leaves of absence for the present semester are noted: *University of California* (Berkeley), Lawrence Kinnaird, for service with the State Department; *University of California* (Los Angeles), Brainerd Dyer; *University of Michigan*, Arthur L. Dunham, who was recently promoted to be professor, and S. M. Scott.

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *British Columbia*, Henry S. Lucas. *California* (Berkeley), Arthur S. Aiton, Louis Gottschalk. *California* (Los Angeles), A. C. Krey. *Chicago*, William P. Hotchkiss. *Colorado*, Ralph H. Gabriel. *Columbia*, Charles W. Hackett, Merrill Jensen, John L. La Monte, Walter C. Langsam, Jakob A. O. Larsen, Carlton C. Qualey. *Iowa*, Troyer S. Anderson. *Michigan*, Leslie V. H. Brock, Lawrence F. Hill. *Minnesota*, Harold S. Fink, for the first term. *Nebraska*, Harold C. Vedeler. *New Mexico*, J. Linus Glanville. *Queen's*, John Perry Pritchett. *Southern California*, Arthur C. Cole, F. H. Soward. *Texas*, W. H. Callcott, R. D. W. Connor, V. Alton Moody, for the first term; Louis Bernard Schmidt, Ernest Wallace, J. L. Waller, A. G. Wiederaenders, for the second term.